



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ARTICLE V.

INDRA IN THE RIG-VEDA.

BY EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY,
TUTOR IN GREEK AND SANSKRIT IN COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK.

Presented to the Society October 28th, 1880.

THE primary object of this essay is to give as distinct an account as possible of the great god Indra, as he appears in the light shed upon him by the Rig-Veda; more especially to determine with accuracy his position in the Vedic pantheon, and his original significance (his *Naturbedeutung*): i. e. the powers of nature which lie behind and are symbolized by this striking personification. The preliminary part of all such work must of course be a searching examination of the hymns themselves, and a conscientious interpretation of all passages in any way bearing upon the subject. Great care has been taken to avoid two dangers: on the one hand, that of overhasty combination and comparison with seeming parallels in extra-Indian mythology; and on the other, that of following too closely what may be called the ritualistic tendency, which puts these ancient hymns (which in the main breathe out the freshness of nature, and display the Indian people in the vigor of youth) on the same level with the religious monstrosities of a cunning, subtle, ingenious and yet frivolous priesthood of a later age, and attempts to explain obscure points in the text by not less imperfectly understood details of the later ceremonial. To the first of these perils L. Myriantheus seems to have fallen a prey; his work, *Die Ägvis oder Arischen Dioskuren*, was published at Munich in 1876. The other has often proved disastrous to Alfred Hillebrandt, who is represented in this field by two books, *Ueber die Göttin Aditi* (Breslau, 1876), and *Varuṇa und Mitra* (1877).

The Rig-Veda is the only source from which materials have been drawn. The Brāhmanas show so decided an advance beyond Vedic ideas that great confusion would inevitably have accompanied any attempt to combine them. The same reason prevailed with regard to the Yajus. As for the Sāman, it contains only sixty or seventy verses not found in the Rik, and these offer nothing whatever of value; while a preliminary examination of the Atharvan showed that the results to be obtained from it would not differ materially from those furnished by the Rik, for which reason its discussion may well be postponed.

The essay is divided into four parts, as follows: I. The primitive conceptions of the Indians regarding Indra, and the powers of nature which are represented under this personification; II. The accounts of Indra's parentage, and the narratives and legends of his birth; III. The functions of Indra in the supernatural and natural, the moral and the physical world, and his relations with other gods; IV. The conception of Indra as a definite person, and the resulting description of him.

I. *Indra's Significance in Nature.*

For many years, from the pioneer labors of Roth in the field of Vedic exegesis to the latest researches of Ludwig and Bergaigne, most Sanskrit specialists and comparative mythologists have viewed Indra as a god of the sky—whether, on the one hand, of the radiant and sunny, or, on the other, of the rainy sky. For the first at all complete exposition of the subject we have to thank Roth, who in an essay in Zeller's *Theologisches Jahrbuch* for 1846 (p. 352) styles Indra “the first of the gods, born before the other immortals, whom he has adorned with power; the god of the bright clear vault of Heaven. His cheerful yet majestic appearance makes him the protector of human beings and the dispenser of riches.” A note adds: “*Indra* signifies ‘the radiant one;’ from the root *idh*, *indh*, ‘kindle;’ related to *αἶθω*, *αἰθρῶ*, in which the root is strengthened.” The next year Roth modified his views as follows (*Zeitsch. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, 1847, p. 72): “Indra is the supreme god of the Vedic belief, or at least the one whose rule and power most immediately concerns the life of mankind. He is the god of the cheerful sky of day, which after all obscurations again shines forth, and upon which depend fruitfulness of the earth and the quiet enjoyment of human existence.” Roth's later views, as expressed in the Petersburg Dictionary, we shall find essentially different. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2nd edit., i. 893) takes in the main

this view, but adopts a different derivation of the name. Wuttke (*Geschichte des Heidenthums*, 1852, ii. 241), deviating widely from all previous opinions, and completely failing to grasp the conceptions of Indra offered by the older literature, saw him only in the light of the later Brahmanic descriptions. Benfey (*Orient und Occident*, 1862, p. 48 ff.) regarded Indra as god of the rain-sky. He says: "It can be proved conclusively that Indra stepped into the place of the sky-god, who in the Vedas is addressed in the vocative as *dyaush pitar*." But, so far as I know, this has not yet been proved. Benfey's derivation of the name *indra* is, as will be seen below, utterly untenable. Max Müller says in his *Lectures on the Science of Language* (ii. 470): "The real representative of Jupiter in the Vedas is not Dyū but Indra, a name of Indian growth, and unknown in any other independent branch of Aryan language. Indra was another conception of the bright blue sky." And, on page 473, note 35: "Indra, a name peculiar to India, admits of but one etymology: i. e. it must be derived from the same root, whatever that may be, which in Sanskrit yielded *indu*, 'drop, sap.' It meant originally the giver of rain, the Jupiter Pluvius, a deity more often present to the mind of the worshipper than any other. Cf. Benfey, *Or. u. Occ.*, i. 49." But in his *Chips* (ii. 91) the same scholar calls him "the chief solar deity of India"! The identity of Indra with Jupiter Pluvius is also maintained by Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 77. Grassmann (*Wbch. zum R. V.*, s. v. *indra*) calls him the god of the bright firmament. Myriantheus (*Die Aëvins*, p. xvi.), whose account of Indra is chiefly remarkable for calm assurance of statement, again identifies him with Dyū; while Ludwig (*Die philosophischen und religiösen Anschauungen des Veda*, p. 33) characterizes him thus: "It is very difficult to determine Indra's precise mythological nature, since he unites in himself the characteristics of several older divinities. It is perhaps most correct to style him the god of the sky, under whose protection and guidance stand on the one hand the sun and stars—hence his friendship with Pūṣan and Viṣṇu—on the other the phenomena of the thunderstorm." Again, (R. V. Transl., iii. 313): "Dyaus is described similarly with Indra, who is doubtless a mere resuscitation of the older god who had been for a time thrust into the background by the rise of the Varuṇa-cult, and whose identity with Zeus was long ago recognized." (See also p. 318 of the same volume.) Bergaigne, in his work entitled *La Religion Védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Véda* (Paris, 1878, p. xvi.), pays no attention whatever to the nature-side of the god's personality, but views merely his ethical side. He calls him the god of battle, and says of him: "He is more profoundly distinguished from the

elements than are the other gods." Undoubtedly this is true, that Indra is a god of battle; but it is only half the truth; nor is he in fact more sharply distinguished from natural phenomena than several other divinities.

Differing from all these opinions, I consider that Indra belongs not among the deities of the sky, but among, or rather at the head of, those of the air—a distinction which we shall find a very important one when Indian mythology is in question. Without doubt, the strongest reason for the classification of Indra among the sky-gods has been his apparent identity with the Greek Zeus and the Italian Juppiter. And if the thunderstorm-mythus had in its development run like courses in India and in Greece and Italy, we could not avoid accepting this identification as correct. It is perfectly true that Indra has to wage the same contest as Zeus; and it is not less probable that in the yet undivided Indo-European mythology Dyu was the one to whose lot it fell to conquer the cloud-demons. Accordingly we must say, Indra had taken the place of Dyu. But the conclusion is unwarranted, that Indra was by nature a deity of the sky. We may merely say: the original functions of Dyu, a deity of the sky, as conqueror of the cloud-demons, were transferred by the Indians to another god, of different origin and different nature, who in the course of time had advanced into prominence by the side of Dyu. And this transfer is moreover in perfect accord with Vedic doctrines respecting the structure of the world. Before explaining these doctrines, however, I will endeavor to show what natural phenomenon Indra originally represented.

That he is really in the Veda the god—i. e. the personification—of the thunderstorm, is shown very plainly by several passages which are in fact detailed descriptions of that mighty convulsion of nature, and yet place the god, conceived of as a person, most prominently in the foreground. In the Veda we have to deal with a worship of nature, whose chief gods were long ago recognized as originally personifications of different powers of nature. We are therefore entitled, in this as in most other cases, to seek the most primitive conceptions which the Indians formed of their favorite god in those passages in which the descriptions of some phenomenon of nature, and of a personal being supposed to underlie the manifestations of this phenomenon, are most evidently and most intimately united. A number of such verses, relating especially to Indra, are treated of in Part II.; but I will introduce several of the most striking here, that we may in advance gather an idea of the true nature of this god. Thus, i. 55. 4.¹ "He manifests

¹ *sá íd váne namasyúbhír vacasyate cáru jáneṣu prabruvāṇá indriyám.*

himself in the forest by the bending trees, announcing his power (which is) held dear among men;" v. 32. 10 :¹ "Before him bends the godlike tree;" i. 55. 1: "Dreadful, mighty, the cause of woe unto men, he whets his thunderbolt;" i. 54. 1 :² "Thou, O Indra, smiting the woods asunder, didst make the streams to gush out; did not then mortals huddle together in terror?" Is this the god of the blue sky? Zeus is the sky-god and the sky; Indra is not the sky—he wins it for his worshippers. ii. 12. 13: "Before him Heaven and Earth bow, at his breath the mountains quake;" vi. 31. 2 :³ "Through dread of thee, Indra, everything upon the earth trembles, yea even the immovable regions of the air; Heaven and Earth, the mountains, the forests—everything that is firm trembles at thy progress;" vi. 18. 2 :⁴ "Raising the dust on high, he alone was the mighty shaker of the nations of men;" x. 92. 8 :⁵ "Even the sun reins in his tawny mares; every one dreads Indra, for he is the mightier, and (fears) the blast from the body of the terrible giant; day after day he thunders, victorious, unrestrainable." In i. 52. 8, Indra is styled *candrā-budhna*: i. e. 'having a white, or bright, ground.' This could be taken as descriptive of the sky, but suits better the thunder-cloud, as it advances across the bright heavens; we have only to translate 'with bright background.'

But even when we have proved that Indra was the thunder-storm, we are not yet justified in denying him a place among the sky-gods; in fact, with our minds full of Greek mythology, we should consider such a denial absurd. But let us see what views the Vedic poets held concerning the scene of action of the thunder-storm, and consequently of the thunder-god.

From the earliest Vedic times, the Indians marked off the universe in their imaginations in a manner peculiar to themselves. They assumed three separate regions: viz. of the earth, the air, and the sky; a conception which to my knowledge is not found elsewhere among Indo-European mythologies.⁶ Moreover, many natural phenomena which in still

¹ ny āsmāi devī svādhītir jihīta.

² ākrandayo nadyò rōruvad vānā kathā nā kṣoṇīr bhīyāsā sām ārata.

³ tvād bhīyēndra pārthivāni viśvācyutā cic cyāvayante rājāṁsi: dyā-vākṣāmā pārvatāso vānāni viśvaṁ dr̥ḥhām bhayate ājmann ā te.

⁴ bṛhādrenuḥ cyāvano mānuṣiṇām ékaḥ kṛṣṭinām abhavat sahāvā.

⁵ sūraḥ cid ā harīto asya rīramad īndrād ā kác cid bhayate tāvīyasah : bhīmasya vīṣṇo jathārād abhiçvāso divé-dive sáhūri stann ābādhitah.

⁶ The Greek *ἀσθήρ* and *ἀήρ* seem not to correspond accurately to the Indian *dyāus* and *antarikṣam*. Nor did the Greeks distribute their divinities so formally among the different regions. Their scheme was: divinities of sky, earth (and sea), and lower world.

earlier, ante-Vedic times they themselves imagined, and other Indo-Europeans continued to imagine in later times, as occurring in the sky, were by them transferred to the middle region, the district of the air, a region which in the Veda we find always sharply distinguished from the sky. This change from primitive conceptions must have been consummated at a very early date in the interval between the separation of the Indian tribes from the others of Aryan stock and the composition of the Vedic hymns, since we find in all parts of the Rîg-Veda the three regions accurately and consistently kept apart, and yet they are mentioned in such a manner as to make it almost certain that the idea of the *antarikṣam*, the Air-region, was of later development than those of Heaven and Earth. For instance, in numerous passages Heaven and Earth are styled the universal parents, a name never applied to Heaven and Air, or Earth and Air. In i. 56. 5 we read:¹ “When thou, O Indra, didst fasten firmly the region of air in the frame of Heaven and Earth;” ii. 15. 2:² “he filled out the two worlds (i. e. Heaven and Earth, *rodasî* having always this meaning) and the air.” Most plainly speaks iv. 42. 4:³ “The triple universe.”

Parallel with this development of a specifically Indian triple division of the universe, of a third and new realm of nature, runs the development of a specifically Indian divinity, the field of whose activity is this new realm, and whose function it is to fight in mid-air the battles which the Aryan imagined as taking place in the sky. From what germ was developed the conception of this mighty deity Indra we shall never learn from the Veda, for therein he appears always as either the greatest, or among the greatest, of the gods. The occurrence of the word *iṇdra* or *aṇdra* in Zend, as name of an evil spirit, and the Slav. *jědrŭ*, ‘swift’ (see below), perhaps point to his existence, in a very rudimentary form, in the mythology of the period preceding the separation. Other than these there seem to be no indications of him whatever, outside of the Indian peninsula.

For the Indian of the Vedic period, the sky was raised far above all strife; there was eternal light, eternal peace, the eternal waters, and there dwelt the bright Ādityas, in inviolable sanctity and majesty; but the air, the middle region, was alive with malicious spirits, whose power had to be broken by a god of greater power than they, by Indra. Yet to overcome the demons, Indra does not descend from Heaven into Air, for

¹ *vī yát tiró dharúṇam ácyutam rájó ‘tiṣṭhipo divá ātāsu barhāṇā.*

² *ā rodasî aprṇad antáríkṣam.*

³ *tridhātu bhūma.*

he is supposed to be there already. He advances along the horizon, between Heaven and Earth, as the poets never weary of singing; he is born there, as child of Heaven and Earth, which he forces asunder by his huge size and power (see x. 89). He is the god of battle, of the battle fought in the thunder-storm between good and bad spirits; and the battle-ground is the air, the home and gathering place of all demons.

Another proof that Indra was not thought a god of the sky is found in the references made to him in Yāska's Nirukta, where Yāska quotes the opinion of his predecessors that in reality there were but three gods: Sūrya (the sun) in the sky, Indra or Vāyu in the air, and Agni upon earth. Yāska however maintains the plurality of divinities in each region, and places Indra (or Vāyu) at the head of those of the air. Significant is likewise the close connection of Indra with Vāyu and the Maruts, the wind- and storm-gods, whom it is impossible to view as celestial divinities.

For all these reasons, and for others which will be advanced in their proper place, I conclude that Roth's views as laid down in the Pet. Dict., s. v. *indra*, are correct. There we read: "*Indra*. Name of the well-known god, who in the Vedic creed stands at the head of the gods of the middle region, the atmosphere. The most prominent manifestation of his power is the battle which he has to fight with the thunder-bolt (*vajra*), in the thunder-storm, against the demoniac powers. In his origin he is not the supreme, but the national and favorite god of the Indo-Aryan tribes, a type of heroic power used for noble ends; and with the gradual fading away of Varuṇa he advances more and more into prominence." My own investigations, so far as they reach, have all tended to confirm these views of my revered master.

In the present state of our knowledge of the Veda, perhaps as much is lost as is gained by the zeal for comparison between things Indian and things extra-Indian. The Sanskrit texts must be conscientiously worked through many times yet before we can speak with confidence upon all the religious conceptions and beliefs of those ancient *ṛshis*: and the light which so many have attempted to throw upon them from without often distorts instead of revealing the real truth.

The etymology of the word *indra* has been very variously explained. Yāska gives no less than thirteen different derivations, and the number of modern attempted ones must be nearly as great. The Indian derivations are as usual absurd, yet hardly more so than the following by Benfey: *syand-ant*, pres. pple. of a supposed base *syand*; with loss of *-t*, *syand-an*; with change of *-n* to *-r*, *syand-ar*; with addition of *-a*, *syand-ar-a*; then *sind-ar-a*, *sind-r-a*, *ind-r-a*. Middletown out of Moses,

or mango out of Jeremiah King, are nothing to this. The most reasonable derivation is still that proposed by Roth, *Pet. Dict.*, s. v.: viz. from the root *in* or *inv*, 'press, urge, have power over,' etc., with the suffix *-ra* (used to form *nomina agentis*), a euphonic *d* being inserted, as in the Greek *ἀν-δ-ρός*, *μεσημ-β-ρία*, etc. The signification of 'the stormer, the oppressor' suits the character of the god to a remarkable degree; and Ludwig mentions as the only instance of the word in extra-Indian language (except perhaps Zend *iṇdra* or *aṇdra*) the Slav. *jedru*, 'swift, impetuous.' So too the Aṅvins, the mighty horsemen, are called *indrataṃā*, heretofore commonly rendered 'most like Indra,' for which 'most impetuous' would surely be better; and in vii. 99. 3 Ushas, the Dawn, is likewise styled *indrataṃā*, where 'most like Indra' is eminently unsatisfactory. Better would be perhaps in this passage also the rendering 'very swift.'

II. *Indra's Origin.*

The Vedic poets did not content themselves with a mere personification of the thunder-storm and its at once salutary and destructive effects. On the contrary, they on the one hand gradually extended and multiplied the fields of Indra's activity in nature, and developed his original character, until they came to imagine him as interfering in all human affairs, and even as guiding the courses of the stars and bringing order and stability into the movements of the universe; while on the other hand they humanized his divine person, to a greater extent perhaps than any other of the Vedic pantheon, attributed to it a human form, and furnished it with a variety of human attributes, all of which however harmonized perfectly with the original conception which underlay this divine nature. Finally, they represented Indra as begotten by other gods, and as entering at his birth into an already existing world of divinities.

The numerous passages of the Rig-Veda which make mention of Indra's descent and birth will be best divided into four groups. In the first I shall include verses containing such conceptions as are still purely physical: that is, conceptions in which the original content of the mythus, the immediate impression received in the observation of nature, is most prominent, even in the details; in the second group, the anthropomorphic statements—those in which Indra's *Naturbedeutung* sinks into comparative insignificance beside his humanized person, and in which his birth is described as happening in accordance with human experience and circumstances; in the third, passages which, although containing references to Indra's par-

ents, yet do not name or characterize them more definitely ; and in the fourth group, such conceptions of his origin as proceed from later speculation, and are in fact nothing but mental abstractions from the chief manifestations of his activity.

It was not in accordance with the character of the Vedic people, which in fact was somewhat lacking in mythological versatility, fully to develop the genealogical side of the Indra-mythus. This lack of mythological versatility, as for want of a better term I have chosen to designate it, contrasts most sharply with the mental cast of other Indo-European peoples, especially the Greeks. Parents of Indra are indeed alluded to often enough, but rather *en passant*, and generally without mention of specific names. I have not found any passage in the Rig-Veda according to which any other divinity than Dyū is by name styled Indra's father, while on the other hand the allusions to his mother are widely various. At one time it seems to be Prthivī, the Earth, at another the Rain-cloud, finally purely abstract personifications are called his progenitors. Of the view, advanced from different sources, that Indra is to be considered as son of Aditi, I shall have occasion to treat further on.

I now proceed to the discussion of the pertinent passages.

1. *Physical conceptions.*—In the following verses, the birth of Indra is plainly observed to be merely a mythical figure for the sudden breaking out of the thunder-storm, which advances along the horizon, on the edge of Heaven and Earth, "in the lap of the parents;" and in which the God's nature manifests itself. Hardly is the deity born before the mighty battle of the thunderstorm, involving Heaven and Earth in confusion, begins to rage.

First of all belong here three verses of the 17th hymn of Book iv. Thus, v. 4 :¹ "Thy father is considered to be the mighty Heaven; the progenitor of Indra was an excellent workman, in that he begat the noisy wielder of the stout thunderbolt, who is immovable as is the earth from its seat;" v. 2 :² "In terror at thy vehemence the heaven trembled, in terror at thy fury the earth trembled, at thy birth; the firm mountains tottered, the plains crumbled, the waters dispersed;" v. 12 :³ "Little cares Indra for his mother, little for his father, for the

¹ *suṁvīras te janitā manyata dyāūr indrasya kartā svāpastamo bhūt : yā im jājana svaryām suvājram ānapacyutaṁ sādaso nā bhūma.*

² *tāva tviṣó jāniman rejata dyāūr réjad bhūmir bhiyāsā svāsyā manyōh : rghāyānta subhvāh párvatāsa ārdan dhānvāni sarāyanta āpaḥ.*

³ *kīyat svid indro ádhy eti mātūḥ kīyat pitūr janitūr yó jājana : yó asya çūṣmam muhukāir iyarti vāto nā jūtāḥ stanáyadbhir abhrāñ.*

begetter that begat him : (Indra) who in a moment gives free rein to his violence, as it were a storm-wind amid thundering clouds." In other words, the verse says : Indra pitilessly drags Heaven and Earth, in whose embrace he was born, into the whirlpool of the raging thunder-storm. A similar thought seems to have hovered in the mind of the author of the not very intelligible passage iv. 22. 4.¹ I understand the verse thus : "Every hillside and the many heights, the heaven and the earth, trembled before the gigantic one at his birth ; when the courageous one brings his parents to the cow (i. e. to the thunder-cloud), then do the winds bellow mightily round about." The second half of the stanza seems to mean : when Indra hurries Heaven and Earth into the thickest turmoil of the thunder-storm, then etc. Here also, then, I can perceive only a description of the advancing storm, spreading swiftly over earth and sky ; and so in i. 63. 1 ; but particularly viii. 59. 4 :² "(No one equals Indra,) the unconquered, the mighty one, victorious in battle, at whose birth the great cows (i. e. the clouds), wandering in the wide domain (the sky), all bellowed together—yea, even heaven and earth bellowed together."

In each of these passages the reference to the approach of the storm is unmistakable. In others the description is more detailed. Here is one of a thunder-storm in the mountains at daybreak : viii. 6. 28-30 :³ "On the slope of the mountains, and at the junction of the streams, the wise one was born through devotion (i. e. the storm was sent in answer to the prayers of the rain-seeking worshippers) ; viewing the sea of air, he looks down from this height, from whence, quivering, he rages ; then first does one see the light of morning, sprung from the ancient seed, as it flashes out along the sky." Similarly i. 6. 3 : "Giving light unto darkness, and shape unto the shapeless (i. e. illumining the darkness of the night or the gray of the morning with lightning-flashes) thou wast born together with the dawns."

A good parallel to this conception of a storm at daybreak is found in several passages which relate the violent treatment of Uṣas, the Dawn, by Indra, who shatters her car and drives her in terror from it ; but the treatment of them here would

¹ *vīcīvā ródhānsi pravātaḥ ca pūrvīr dyāūr ṛṣvāj jānīman rejata kṣāḥ : ā mātārā bhārati ṣuṣmy ā gōr nṛvāt párijman nonuvanta vātāḥ.*

² *āṣāḥam ugrām pñtanāsu sāsahīm yāsmīn mahīr urujráyaḥ : sám dhe-návo jáyamāne anonavur dyāvaḥ kṣāmo anonavuh.*

³ *upahvaré giriṇām saṁgathé ca nadīnām : dhīyā vípro ajāyata. átāḥ samudrām udvātaḥ cikītvān āva paçyati : yāto vipānā éjati. ād it prat-nāsya rétaso jyōtiṣ paçyanti vāsarām : paró yád idhyāte divā.*

disturb the continuity of the discussion of Indra's birth and origin. I reserve them therefore until later, and proceed at once to the second group of passages, to the

2. *Anthropomorphic Conceptions*.—Scenes and events of human life, often boldly hyperbolic—often, too, humorously conceived—mingle themselves with the myth of Indra's birth.

The first place here belongs by right to the remarkable and certainly very ancient hymn, no. 18 in the 4th Book, with the discussion of which that of the other passages will easily and naturally connect itself. Roth, in the *Siebenzig Lieder des Rig-Veda* of Geldner and Kaegi, has attempted to divide this hymn into its component parts. From his treatment there result the following fragments: I. Indra, refusing to enter the world in the usual way, declares his intention of bursting through his mother's side: iv. 18. 1: "This is the old and well-known path by which all the gods were born; by it shalt thou likewise be born when mature; thou mayest not, by other means, bring thy mother unto death." (Indra speaks.) v. 2: "I will not go out thence, that is a dangerous way; right through the side will I burst; many things yet undone have I to do, to fight with this one, to be at friendship with that one." v. 3 (Roth, 13): "He beholds his mother dying: 'I will not yield, no, I will go through there;' Indra drank in Tvāṣṭar's house the Soma, of hundred-fold value, from the vessel of juice." v. 4 (Roth, 3): "How should that one, whom his mother carried for a thousand months and for many years, undertake evil? Nowhere exists his equal, among the living or those that shall be born." II. Indra, as a weakling, is exposed by his mother, according to v. 8 even thrown into the river Kuṣavā, but is saved and attains power and victory. Thus, v. 5 (Roth, 4): "Thinking Indra of no account, his mother hid him (Indra), who teemed with heroic strength; thereat he stood forth, wrapping about him his own garment, and though new-born, filled both worlds." And v. 8 (Roth, 7): "Now the young mother throws thee aside, and now Kuṣavā swallows thee; and now the waters take pity upon the child, and now Indra stands forth in his might." III. The new-born Indra displays forthwith his courage and strength: v. 10 (Roth, 9): "The young heifer brought forth a stout calf, an unconquerable, a brawny bull—Indra; she licks her calf,¹ that it may walk, but it seeks of itself its own way." v. 11 (Roth, 10): "The mother is concerned about the young hero: 'My son, the gods abandon thee!' And Indra, about to kill Vṛtra, spake: 'Friend Viṣṇu, stand further away.'" IV. Indra kills his own father. Thus, v. 12 (Roth, 11): "Who is it

¹ Roth reads *āreṭ tīm* for *ārīṭham*.

that has widowed thy mother? Who sought to smite thee when lying down, when running? What god was there that pitied thee? Since thou didst seize thy father by the foot and dash him in pieces." Verses 6, 7, 9, and 13 have nothing to do with Indra's birth.

It is not possible to discover any intimate connection between all the verses of this hymn. The Anukramaṇī, or list of hymns with authors, subjects, and metre, styles it a dialogue between Indra, the sage Vāmadeva, and Āditi. From this source doubtless Sāyaṇa derived his explanation (which Hillebrandt, *Āditi*, p. 43, has adopted from him), that the first two verses refer to the birth of Vāmadeva, who in order to excuse his extraordinary whim recalls Indra's deeds of violence. Roth's translation and arrangement remove every doubt of the fragmentary and heterogeneous character of the hymn.

According to iii. 48. 2, 3, and vii. 98. 3, Indra at the moment of his birth invigorates himself with a draught of Soma. A curious feature of the Indra-mythus is found twice in Book viii. Thus, in viii. 45. 4, 5: "The slayer of Vṛtra, as soon as he was born, seized his arrow; he asked of his mother, 'Who are the mighty ones? What are they called?' Then Çavasī answered thee: 'He shall as it were fight with his forehead against a mountain, whoever desires to do battle with thee.'" And viii. 66. 1, 2: "As soon as he was born, the possessor of hundred-fold might asked of his mother, etc. Then Çavasī named to him Āurṇavābha and Ahīçuva: 'My child, these will be for thee unconquerable.'" While in the first passage Indra's mother puts implicit faith in her son's prowess, in the second she does not credit him with such courage and power as he afterward displays; but, as the following verse shows, her fears for him are ungrounded:³ "All these together the slayer of Vṛtra smote, as one beats spokes into the hub with a hammer; when full-grown, he became the slayer of the Dasyus.

Thus must we explain the episode, if we follow the authority of the *pada*-text for *niṣtūrah*: i. e. = *niṣ*+*turas*. But Aufrecht, differing from the *pada* and the Pet. Dict., explains *niṣtūrah* as from *ni*+*√star*, i. e. 'those that are to be cast down'; and he translates: "My child, do thou cast these to earth" (Z. D. M. G., xxiv. 205). Grassmann follows Aufrecht;

¹ ā bundām vṛtrahā dade jātāḥ pṛchad vī mātāram: ká ugrāḥ ké ha çṛṇvire. prāti tvā çavasī vadad girāv āpso ná yodhiṣat: yás te çatrutvám ācaké.

² jajñānó nú çatákratur vī pṛchad iti mātāram: ká ugrāḥ ké ha çṛṇvire. ād im çavasy ābravid āurṇavābhām ahīçuvam: té putra santu niṣtūrah.

³ sám ít tán vṛtrahākhidat khé arāṇ iva khédayā: právrddho dasyu-hābhavat.

Ludwig translates "O child, they must be mighty ones," by which the line becomes extremely weak and insignificant. If Aufrecht's view be correct (and the imper. *santu* certainly makes for him), there is no contradiction, but a close correspondence, between the two hymns. Compare again iv. 18. 11, where Indra does not fear, though the other gods have abandoned him, but entreats Viṣṇu to leave him free scope.

A very human addition to the fable is the following, where the poet imagines the infant god surrounded by attendant women: x. 153. 1:¹ "Busy women sat about the new-born Indra, rocking him, and instilling into him excellent strength." In another passage, incorrectly incorporated in the Urvaçihymn, Indra's nurses are the celestial waters, in whose midst, in fact, according to the observation of nature, the god is born: x. 95. 7:² "The divine women sat about the new-born one, and the exulting streams nursed him; when, O Loud-shouter (Indra), the gods nourished thee for mighty battle, and for the destruction of the demons." The sudden change from the third person to the second, the person described being addressed, is not uncommon in the Veda.

3. *Vague Statements concerning Indra's Parents.*—The third group comprises passages in which Indra's parents are indeed alluded to, but not by name, and without any special characterization. Thus, x. 28. 6:³ "Many thousands do I cast to earth at once, for my father created me as an irresistible one" (cf. i. 129. 11);⁴ vii. 20. 5: "A giant begat the giant for battle, a heroine bore the hero;" x. 134. 1:⁵ "When thou, O Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both worlds, a divine mother had borne thee, the great ruler of great nations, a noble mother had borne thee."

A curious reference to Indra's childhood, for which I have not been able to find any satisfactory explanation (if indeed any deeper meaning underlies the text), is the following: viii. 58. 15: "While yet an immature boy, he mounted the new wagon, and roasted for father and mother a fierce bull." Probably we have here only a fanciful description of the headstrong and mighty infant.

Further indistinct references to Indra's mother are the

¹ *īṅkháyantīr apasyúva índram jātám úpāsate: bhejānāsaḥ suvīryam.*

² *sám asmiñ jāyamāna āsata gnā utém avardhan nadyāḥ svágūrtāḥ: mahé yāt tvā purúravo ráṇāyāvardhayan dasyuhátyāya devāḥ.*

³ *purú sahásrā ní çīçāmi sākám açatrúṁ hí mā jānitā jajāna.*

⁴ Perhaps also ii. 17. 6; but in this passage *pítū* is doubtless Tvaṣṭar, the father, i. e. the creator, of the thunderbolt.

⁵ *ubhé yád indra ródaśi āpaprāthoṣā iva: mahāntaṁ tvā mahīnām sam-rājam carṣaṇīnām devī jānitry ajījanad bhadrā jānitry ajījanad.*

following: x. 73. 1:¹ "Thou wast born a mighty one unto destructive power, lovely, most powerful, threatening many; the Maruts cheered on Indra when his very swift mother taught him, the hero, to run;" and ii. 30. 2:² "The mother announced unto the sage who it was that should rob Vṛtra of his possessions." More significant for the poet's caution than for Indra's parentage is x. 120. 1: "Among all creatures that was the noblest, from which the mighty one, he of impetuous strength, was born."

Finally we come to two very puzzling verses: vi. 59. 1:⁴ "Now at the Soma-feast I will proclaim your heroic deeds; your parents are slain, overpowered by the gods; but ye, Indra and Agni, remain alive." Ludwig translates "the pitar, hostile to the gods, were slain by you," which is an ungrammatical rendering of the Sanskrit; while Grassmann proposes *piyavah*, 'slanderers,' for *pitarah*. Again, v. 2:⁵ "Ye had the same father, and ye are twins; your mothers were in different places." The mythical relations are here extremely obscure; it is even doubtful whether there be any real connection between the two verses. I will return later to v. 2, and proceed at once to the fourth and last group.

4. *Conceptions of Indra's Origin which rest upon Speculation*.—It is but rarely that the poets personified any ethical qualities, as for instance in viii. 58. 4, Indra is called *sūnuh satyasya*, 'son of truth.' In nearly every instance he is still the god of thunder and war, who does not belie his original character even in this abstract theogony. For instance, we read in x. 73. 10:⁶ "If any say 'he is sprung from a horse,' I believe him born also of might; he came forth from rage, and stands now in the houses; Indra knows from whence he is born." It must however be remarked that the verse is susceptible of another explanation, by which Agni instead of Indra becomes its subject: "From a horse (the sun) did he (Agni) proceed, from power, from fury; now he stands in (human) houses (i. e. as the fire on the hearth or the domestic altar); only Indra knows whence he (Agni) was born." Compare with this interpretation the

¹ jāniṣṭhā ugrāḥ sāhase turāya mandrā ójīṣṭho bahulābhimānaḥ: āvar-dhann indram marútaḥ cid ātra mātā yád vīram dadhānad dhāniṣṭhā.

² yó vṛtrāya sínām ātrābhariṣyat prá tám jānitṛi vidúṣa uvāca.

³ i. 155. 3, said in Anukr. to be directed to Indra and Viṣṇu, really has reference to Viṣṇu only.

⁴ prá nú vocā sutēṣu vām vīryā yāni cakráthuḥ: hatāso vām pitáro devācatrava indragñi jīvatho yuvám.

⁵ samāno vām janitā bhrátarā yuvám yamāv ihēhamātara.

⁶ áçvād iyāyēti yád vādanty ójaso jātām utā manya enam: manyór iyaya harmyēṣu tasthau yātaḥ prajāñā indro asya veda.

verses (v. 2. 8; x. 32. 6) in which is related how Indra revealed the hiding-place of Agni, who had disappeared. Who in fact should understand the nature of the mysterious lightning better than the thunder-god?

With the last line of x. 73. 10 is to be compared what is said of the Maruts, the storm-winds; vii. 56. 2: "No one knows their birth, yet they among themselves well know their descent." I regard this as pointing toward Indra's original significance as god of the thunderstorm. As are the swiftly-passing storms, so is their supreme head—whence they come, or whither they go, who can say? "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.

Further, we have to consider the following passages. In viii. 81. 14, Indra is called *putrah çavasah*; and in iv. 24. 1, *çavasah sûnuh*—both signifying 'son of might;' cf. x. 153. 2: "Thou wast born of strength, Indra, of might, of power; thou, O Giant, art truly a giant." The epithet *gosano napât*, 'son of a cow-winner (i. e. of a cloud-winner),' in iv. 32. 22, proceeds no less than the foregoing from conscious speculation, as will be seen hereafter. In x. 90. 13 (the Puruṣa-hymn) we read that Indra and Agni sprang from Puruṣa's mouth. Likewise the already quoted verses viii. 45. 4 and 5, and 66. 1 and 2 belong in this connection; for *çavasî*, 'Might,' used unmistakably in this place as a proper name (cf. *devî taviṣî*, i. 56. 4), is a mere personification of Indra's most prominent characteristic. When once the idea that Indra was the 'son of might' (*çavasah*, gen. sing. neut.) had been thrown out, the transition to *Çavasî* (fem.), 'Might' personified, was natural and easy.

Finally, in x. 101. 12 we find Indra called Son of Niṣṭigri. The word *niṣṭigri*, which occurs in this passage only, still remains an etymological riddle. Sāyaṇa's explanation is wholly unsatisfactory—he identifies Niṣṭigri with Aditi, and explains the word by *niṣṭim girati*, i. e. 'Aditi swallows her rival Niṣṭi,' whom he makes identical with Diti — and it remains an open question whether Niṣṭigri be not, like the previously mentioned *Çavasî*, a purely abstract character.

The more closely one examines these passages in detail and in their connection, the more hopeless seems the task of finding therein a fixed tradition, current in Vedic times, of Indra's descent. It is fair to suppose that the earliest conceptions made in Indra's case no exception to the rule which regarded Heaven and Earth as universal parents. That Dyu was viewed as his father is evident from iv. 17. 4 and iv. 18. 12,

¹ tvám indra bálād ádhī sáhaso jātá ójasah : tvám vr̥ṣan vr̥ṣéd asi.

quoted above. Further, x. 54. 3 reads: "When thou didst produce from thine own body father and mother together," upon which Muir (Sanskrit Texts, v. 30) remarks "by which Heaven and Earth are clearly intended." Either such passages are mere outbreaks of boldest fancy, or else we must explain the word *jan* as in viii. 36. 4 (*janitā divo janitā prthivyāh*) where the 'creation' (*jan*) of Heaven and Earth means nothing more than the 'holding' or 'supporting' (*dhr*), or the 'fixing, fastening' (*skabh, stambh*), of other verses. Reference is therein made to Indra's restorative activity, which gives back to earth and sky, when shattered and in confusion through the strife of the elements, their former quiet and order. The passage iv. 18. 10—*gr̥ṣṭiḥ sasūva* etc. (with which cf. x. 111. 2, *gār̥ṣṭeyo vrsabhah*), could perhaps relate to the earth; but I prefer, in view of viii. 6. 19, 20 and ii. 11. 8, to refer *gr̥ṣṭiḥ* to the rain-cloud. Still, the poets need not on all occasions have intended to express particular cosmogonic ideas by such words. The well-known penchant of Vedic sages for the cow-yard in their hymns may surely have led one poet to think of Indra and his mother as calf and cow, without conveying under the image of the 'cow' any deep mythical meaning.

The words *açvād iṃyāyeti yad vadanti*, in x. 73. 10, I can hardly explain otherwise (supposing them to refer to Indra at all) than that *açva* refers to the sun, as in i. 163. 2 the horse undoubtedly typifies the sun. Ludwig (*R. V. Uebersetzung*, iii. 318) regards the horse as symbol of the sky, and quotes to sustain his position x. 68. 11: which verse however contains merely a very natural simile, in which a dark horse bedecked with jewels is compared to the nocturnal sky with its glittering stars, and which proves nothing. But the adoption of the sun as Indra's father would involve us in insuperable difficulties. It is quite possible that the statement *açvād* etc. is no less referable to conscious speculation than those contained in the following lines of the same stanza. The horse, as well as the bull, is often the symbol of strength and courage, and why should not a poet of bold fancy imagine Indra descended from such an animal? The word *vrsan*, used innumerable times of Indra, might in fact be translated 'stallion' as well as 'bull,' provided one tastelessly insist upon rendering the word on all occasions by the name of some particular animal.

There is some temptation to draw from vi. 59. 2 ("Ye are twins, Indra and Agni, ye had the same father, your mother in different regions") a conclusion as to Indra's parentage. In the verse x. 45. 8 Agni is son of Dyū; in iii. 3. 11 and 25. 1, and x. 1. 2, the son of Heaven and Earth. If now we are to

¹ *yán mātāraṃ ca pitāraṃ ca sākām ājanayathās tanvāḥ svāyāḥ.*

hold fast to vi. 59. 2, then Prthivī, the Earth, cannot be Indra's mother. However, the accounts of Agni's parentage are even more confused and contradictory than those of Indra's, and bear no credible witness.

No wonder then that the Indians soon had recourse to speculation to fill out the remarkable gap apparent in the myths of their favorite god. Thus only can I account for such theogonic ideas as those contained in group 4, above. From Indra's chief attributes of might and impetuosity arose the personification Çavasī, 'the mighty one' or 'might.' Compare with this *dhan-isthā mātā*, 'the very swift mother,' a title which suits neither Aditi nor the Earth. Similarly, from the conception of his battles with the rain-stealing demons was derived the epithet *goṣaṇo napāt*. In mythological systems the son is accustomed to display his activity in the same field with his father. It was Indra, more than any other, who captured the cows, i. e. the rain-clouds; he may therefore well have been the son of a cow-capturer; and there is no necessity for a strained explanation of *goṣaṇ* as equivalent to the sky, or to anything else in particular. I prefer therefore to view these words also as merely the expression of a conscious deliberation, and adaptation of the legends concerning Indra.

III. *Fields of Indra's Activity, and his Relations to other Divinities, and to his Worshippers.*

Among all Indra's deeds celebrated in the Veda, most important are his coercion of the evil spirits of the air, who in Indian belief arrested the rain, so full of blessings for earth and mankind, and gathered them into compact clouds; and his deliverance of the heavenly streams from their power. No department of his activity is made so prominent, no act of his power related so often, in so many various forms, or with so many poetic embellishments; and the god is besought for no other manifestation of mercy with such fervor as for this: all of which is a further indication of his natural position and duties among Vedic divinities. He is above all the god of battle—of battle in the first instance against the demoniac rain-stealers, then further against all other demons and witches; and he finally becomes the ideal of a pugnacious unconquerable hero and warrior, who defends his Aryan worshippers in their battles not only with non-Aryans, but likewise with those of kindred race.

To a correct understanding of the passages which treat of this manifestation of Indra's might, two things are necessary. We must in the first place consider how immensely greater is the effect of the thunderstorm in India, particularly among the

gigantic mountains of Northern India, than with us—how sudden and overwhelming its approach, and yet how eagerly it is prayed for, and by what beneficial effects it is followed.¹ In the second place, we must bear well in mind the peculiar Vedic conception of the rain, especially of the thunder-storm. This is as follows: The original source and home of the waters² was thought to be the highest heaven, *paramam vyoman*, the region peculiarly sacred to Varuna; and it is this deity who sends forth the rain that it may descend upon the earth. So e. g. ii. 28. 4: “The creator let the streams flow, they run as Varuna directed; they fail not, nor become weary; they spread over the land like birds.” (Compare Roth’s *Erläut. zum Nirukta*, x. 4.) But the air-demons arrest and carry off the rain-streams, which the poets symbolize by the figure of cows, and imprison them in their caves in the cloud-mountains. Now Indra appears upon the scene, commissioned by the gods to set the waters free; he conquers the demons and liberates the streams, which thereupon continue undisturbed their journey to earth, led by Indra’s attendants (cf. x. 99. 4); sun, dawn, and sky emerge from the temporary obscurity of the battle, and the gods, who, terrified by the dreadful contest, had retreated to a place of safety, recover once more free scope and peaceful exercise of their influence through Indra’s victory. The evil spirits which disturbed the whole course of nature are pursued to the uttermost regions of darkness; quiet and order are completely restored.

About this conception of a natural phenomenon, as about a core, were gradually crystallized various fantastic creations of the Vedic bards; and their descriptions of this mighty event were interwoven with many single features, some of which had likewise reference to occurrences actually observed in nature, while others admitting of no such explanation must be considered rather as transferrals of purely human experiences into superhuman spheres of action. In fact, we find Indra (and his opponents) conceived of and described much more like human beings than are any other divinities; for which doubtless the reason lay partly in the less morally sublime than fierce and overbearing nature of the thunder-god, partly in the particularly close relations subsisting between Indra as war-god and his worshippers, who were still engaged in bitter contests for empire with the aboriginal inhabitants of India whom they displaced.

¹ Compare Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 42, and his citations.

² In the Veda “water” and all corresponding terms, such as stream, river, torrent, ocean, etc., are used indiscriminately of the water upon the earth, and of the aqueous vapor in the sky or the rain in the air.

In the enumeration of passages belonging in this connection I will first give those which refer plainly to events in nature, then such as contain purely poetical embellishments. The very great number of such verses precludes the mention of any but the most important.

The arch-demon among the rain-stealers is *Vṛtra*, whose name is a plain enough indication of his nature. I prefer, notwithstanding Lindner's mention (*Altindische Nominalbildung*, p. 82) of the difficulties offered by the unstrengthened root-vowel, the common derivation from 1 *vr* 'cover, wrap, hem in, hinder, restrain;' for between the root proposed by Lindner, viz. *vr̥t*, and the word *vṛtra*, the connection of meaning is difficult to trace. The various meanings of the Sanskrit *vṛtra*, as of the Zend *verethra*, are to be classified as follows: *vṛtra*, first 'hindrance, defence' (Zd. *verethra*); then 'that which is to be hindered, warded off,' concrete 'enemy,' as in Zend *verethra-jan*, 'slayer of enemies' (Yāçna xlv. 16); finally, 'the enemy *ṣat* ἑξοχῆ, the Indian demon *Vṛtra*.' The etymon was still plainly felt by the poets. Passages like iii. 32. 6: 'the impious one who enveloped the divine (waters)' (lit.: 'the goddesses')—cf. vii. 21. 3:² 'the dragon who surrounded the waters'—rest upon a not very accurate play upon words, since, according to the development of meanings given above, *vṛtra* did not quite signify 'the enveloper.'

In most verses *Vṛtra* is identical with *ahi*, 'the dragon:' i. e. he is thought of under the form of a dragon; and the descriptions of him correspond: so particularly in the fine hymn i. 32, and in the following verses: iv. 17. 7:³ "Straightway after thy birth, O Indra, thou didst put all nations to flight; thou, O generous one, didst hew in pieces with thy thunderbolt the dragon which lay upon the mountain-slope" (i. e. either upon the clouds or upon the actual mountains). With this verse compare the others of the same hymn, wherein the monster is called *Vṛtra*, and also x. 113. 3:⁴ "When thou, bearing thy weapons, didst come together with the dragon *Vṛtra* for battle, to win for thyself glory." Also cf. vi. 72. 3, and 20. 2. In the following he is called a wild boar: i. 121. 11:⁵ "Thou mighty one with the thunderbolt didst sink *Vṛtra*, the boar that lay across the river-beds, in sleep"—i. e. the sleep of

¹ *vavrivāṁsam pári devīr ádevam.*

² *apāḥ páriṣṭhita áhinā.*

³ *tvám ádha prathamám jāyamānó 'me víçvā adhithā indra kṛṣṭīḥ : tvám prāti pravāta āçáyānam áhim vājreṇa maghavan ví vṛçaḥ.*

⁴ *vṛtréṇa yád áhinā bíbhrad āyudhā samásthithā yudháye çāṁsam āvide.*

⁵ *tvám vṛtrám āçáyānam sirásu mahó vājreṇa siṣvapo varāhum.*

death. But he is sometimes styled simply a wild beast, as in v. 32. 3:¹ "Indra hurled with force his weapon against that great beast."

These different names for Vrtra, like the large majority of the many and various appellations given to the lesser demons, are but different names for one and the same thing: namely, the cloud, which in its manifold forms presented itself most forcibly to the eye of the poet in the likeness now of this, now of that creature. And it was not alone as hostile and mischievous demons in human or animal form that the clouds were symbolized—we find them described as mountains, as in ii. 11. 7:² "Still stood the mountain, which was about to move;" and 8:³ "the restless mountain sat there motionless"—or as forts belonging to the demons (ii. 20. 8), or their skilfully fortified dwellings, which Indra has to carry by assault (i. 55. 6); and in the caves where the evil spirits hide the stolen rain-cows, as well as in the cows themselves, which emit from their swelling udders the milk, i. e. the rain, we can discover only clouds. In short, in the ever-changing panorama of the thunderstorm the Indians saw represented their own encounters with wild beasts, assaults upon forts and ambuscades, recovery of stolen cattle, and many others of their earthly experiences.

Details of the battle which Indra fights with Vrtra, as they were struck out from the fancy of different poets, may prove not uninteresting.

The dragon envelops himself in mist: ii. 30. 3:⁴ "He (Indra) stood on high in the air, and directed his missile against Vrtra; when that one, wrapping himself in mist, rushed headlong upon him, Indra with sharp weapon conquered the enemy." That the subject of pāda *c* is Vrtra, and not Indra, is shown by i. 52. 6:⁵ "When thou, O Indra, didst launch thy thunderbolt into the depths upon the cheeks of Vrtra, who was hard to grasp, then fury fell upon him, his strength was aroused; wrapping the waters about him he lay at the bottom of the atmosphere." The epithet *miho nāpāt*, 'son of vapor,' v. 32. 4, seems likewise to refer to Vrtra (or Ṣuṣṇa). Cf. German *Nebel-ung*. According to x. 73. 5, he throws out mist to confuse his conqueror. He even seeks to defend himself with thunder, lightning, and hail (i. 32. 13), and by his rapid and

¹ tyāsya cin mahatō nīr mṛgāsya vādhar jaghāna tāviṣībhīr indrah.

² āraṇṣta pārvataḥ cit sariṣyān.

³ nī pārvataḥ sādy āprayuchan.

⁴ ūrdhvō hy āsthād ādhy antārikṣe 'dhā vṛtrāya prā vadhām jabhāra: mīham vāsāna ūpa hīm ādudrot tigmāyudho ajayac chātrum indrah.

⁵ pārīm ghrṇā carati titviṣe cāvo 'pō vṛtvī rājaso budhnām āçayat: vṛtrāsya yāt pravane durgbhiçvano nijaghānthā hānvor indra tanyatām.

violent movements to terrify his opponent: i. 80. 12:¹ "Neither by his flapping (with his tail), nor with his thundering did Vṛtra terrify Indra; the brazen thousand-pointed thunderbolt flew at him."

Indra takes the field against this monster at the command of the gods, who are themselves unable to withstand it: iv. 19. 1, 2; vi. 20. 2 (see under "Indra and Viṣṇu"); ii. 20. 8:² "Unto Indra the gods gave without reserve the chief command in the battle for the water-floods; when they had put the thunderbolt into his hands, having slain his enemies, he possessed himself of the brazen castles." Cf. iv. 17. 1; x. 28. 7:³ *indra* (voc.) in pāda *b* is certainly a mistake, since Indra speaks the verse. Grassmann tries to elude the difficulty by assuming instead of *indra* a vocative addressed to the poet—a procedure both violent and unnecessary. There is no objection to reading *indram* (acc.)—that the nasal sometimes fails to make position is shown by iv. 41. 4: *vadhīṣṭhaṁ vajram*; thus it was easily lost. By reading *indram* we reduce the verse to perfect order: "Thus have the gods made me, Indra, in every work a strong, a mighty giant; I smote Vṛtra lustily with the thunderbolt; I opened by my might the cowstall for the worshipper."

When Indra begins the battle, the other gods abandon him for fright: iv. 18. 11; viii. 82. 14, 15; and especially viii. 85. 7:⁴ "Shrinking from the snorting of Vṛtra, all the gods, thy companions, left thee in the lurch." But as soon as they see that Indra nevertheless ventures the attack and remains victor their courage returns, and they sing to him songs of joy (x. 113. 8). So dreadful is the fight that heaven and earth and all creatures tremble (vii. 21. 3); the heavens shrink from Indra's lightnings (vi. 17. 9); and Tvaṣṭar, though he had himself forged the thunderbolt, falls prostrate in terror at its dreadful effects (i. 80. 14). Perhaps even Indra would not have been able to overcome his enemy, had he not beforehand imbibed with a copious draught of Soma the requisite courage and strength; this however gives him power invincible (v. 29. 3, 7; iii. 43. 7; vi. 44. 14; ii. 19. 2). The other gods, so imagined one poet, found the same means efficacious for providing them with courage, or at least with forgetfulness

¹ ná vépasā ná tanyaténdram vṛtró ví bībhayat: abhy ènaṁ vājra āyasāḥ sahasrabhr̥ṣṭir āyata.

² tásmai tavasyām ānu dāyi satréndrāya devébhir ār̥pasātāu: prátī yād asya vājram bāhvór dhūr hatvī dāsyūn pūra āyasir ní tārīt.

³ evā hí mām tavāsaṁ jajñūr ugrām kārman-karman vīṣaṇam indra devāḥ: vādhīm vṛtrām vājreṇa mandasānō 'pa vrajām mahinā dācūṣe vam.

⁴ vṛtrāsya tvā çvasāthād īṣamāṇā vīçve devā ajahur yé sākḥayaḥ.

of their danger: x. 113. 8: "All the gods then cheered on thy heroic strength with soma-excited eloquence." Cf. vi. 18. 14. Likewise the goddesses, the now liberated waters, sing praises unto him: iv. 22. 7: "Then, O thou with sorrel steeds, did these divine sisters greet thee with joyful shouts, when thou didst free (them) the oppressed ones, that they might flow for long time." Cf. i. 61. 8.

Indra's weapon is either *vajra*, the thunderbolt, which Tvaṣṭar fashioned for him (v. 31. 4 *et saepp.*), or *adri*, *açman*, *parvata*, a mere piece of rock or stone for hurling. Myriantheus (*Die Ägvis*, p. 145 ff.) refers the following passage likewise to the lightning: i. 84. 13: "With the bones of Dadhyañc the irresistible Indra smote the ninety-nine enemies dead"—an explanation doubtless quite satisfactory to the large class of mythologists who explain everything which cannot refer to the sun or the dawn by the lightning. (Comp. Pet. Dict. s. v. *dadhyañc*; and Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 20.) Indra carries also bow and arrows (viii. 45. 4; 66. 6, 11; x. 103. 2, 3), and a spear, *ṛṣṭi* (i. 169. 3); but I have not noticed any instance of his using these weapons in battle against Vṛtra. But he hurls foam at the demon Namuci, perhaps to blind him (see the curious explanation for this devised by the author of *Çatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, xii. 7. 3. 1 ff.; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, v. 94), and ice (snow or hail?) at Arbuda (viii. 32. 26); he also dashes clouds upon them.

At his approach he finds the dragon lying there careless (v. 32. 2), and even asleep (iv. 19. 3), for he (Vṛtra) considers himself invulnerable and immortal (v. 32. 3); but awakes him with the thunderbolt (i. 103. 7). The dragon seeks to defend himself with stratagems, but Indra is more cunning than he: v. 30. 6: "Indra overcame with craft the crafty, lurking dragon which lay upon the waters;" or his cunning is of no avail against the god's overwhelming power, as in x. 111. 6: "Thou, O Vṛtra-slayer, didst cast down Vṛtra with the thunderbolt, thou didst scatter the wiles of the mighty enemy of the gods; thou didst strike home with courage, O courageous one, thou wast then strong in thy arm, O generous giver." Indra strikes off Vṛtra's head with the hundred-jointed thunderbolt (viii. 6. 6), tears Vṛtra himself in pieces (v. 13), and casts him under his horses' feet (v. 16). Now he turns to the treasure of heaven, the waters imprisoned in the cloud-rock, *açman* (i. 130. 13); he hews asunder the clouds as a carpenter hews a tree (v. 4); he lets out the streams and they flow to earth. Hence it is said (viii. 12. 6): "Indra spreads abroad the rains

¹ *vīçve devāso ādha vṛṣṇyāni té 'vardhayant sōmavatya vacasyāyā.*

of heaven." The fight concluded, Indra hastens away with such speed that one would think an avenger of Vṛtra to be at his heels (i. 32. 14): i. e. the storm pursues its rapid journey, and the sky again becomes clear. As reward for this deed of valor, Indra receives the early oblation.

A list of the demons mentioned by name as opponents of Indra, with brief discussions of the principal ones, will be found in an appendix.

After the above description of the battle against the rain-stealing demons, any exhaustive treatment of the passages relating to the subjection of other demoniac creatures would be unnecessary. We should only have to emphasize the fact that Indra, just as he conquers the rain-hindering demons, likewise, and in most intimate connection with this victory, defeats the spirits who arrest the light, through his power as manifested in the battle of the storm. For the black storm-clouds envelop and conceal the light of heaven, and it is only after the god has driven them away, or, in Vedic parlance, has put to flight the spirits of darkness, that the heavenly radiance again streams upon the earth. By a very natural extension of thought, Indra was then imagined as taking the field against spirits of darkness in general, and especially the nocturnal spirits who pursue their mischief in the gloom. Hence no further commentary is necessary upon verses like the following, according to which Indra appears as hostile to 1. enemies of the light of heaven; and 2. evil spirits in general, hobgoblins, spectres, etc.

1. i. 121. 10:¹ "Before the sun is caught by the darkness, O slinger, hurl thy missile against the cloud;" viii. 65. 4:² "It was Indra, the friend of the Maruts, by whom this light was won for the Soma-drinking" (cf. v. 40. 6); iii. 34. 4:³ "Indra the light-winner, the creator of days, the patron, won with his friends the battle; he kindled for mankind the lamp of the day (i. e. the sun); he found the light, for a great joy." Cf. i. 171. 5; ii. 12. 7; x. 27. 24.

2. Numerous passages, a selection from which I append, describe Indra as conqueror of other evil spirits. In vi. 22. 4, e. g., he is called *asura-han*, 'demon-slayer'; in x. 99. 3 he destroys the *çinadevān* (Cf. Pet. Diet., s. v.; acc. to Grassmann, 'demons with tails'), and in v. 10 *ararum yaç catuspāt*, 'the four-footed monster.' He kills the Dasyus (viii. 65. 11), the

¹ purā yāt sūras tāmaso āpītes tām adrivaḥ phaligām hetīm asya.

² ayām ha yēna vā idām svār marútvatā jítām : indreṇa sōmapítaye.

³ indraḥ svarṣā janáyann áhāni jigāyoçigbhiḥ pftanā abhiṣṭīḥ : prāro-cayan mánave ketúm áhnām ávindaj jyótir bṛhaté ráṇāya.

Dāsas (vi. 47. 21), and the Rakshases (vi. 18. 10).¹ The boldness of these demons is described for us in viii. 14. 14:² “Thou, O Indra, didst shake off the demons which sought to creep up, to scale the heaven by stealth.” According to x. 23. 5, he kills them merely by the sound of his frightful voice: cf. x. 48. 6; viii. 85. 9; i. 33. 7; viii. 12. 9.

The verse vii. 104. 22 shows what manifold shapes the Vedic poets imagined the demons to assume:³ “Destroy the fiend as great owl, as little owl, as dog, as cuckoo, as vulture; grind up, O Indra, the Rakṣas, as though with a millstone” (i. e. as thoroughly as with a millstone). i. 29. 5 mentions ass and vulture as among the animals to be destroyed, doubtless because they were viewed as incorporations of evil spirits; or perhaps the ass’s braying disturbed the honest poet while he was “beholding” a beautiful hymn.

For the sake of completeness, I will introduce here a trio of verses relating to certain female demons: i. 133. 1-3:⁴ 1. “I purify both worlds as is right; I burn the great evil spirits (fem.) who do not acknowledge Indra,⁵ strangling them in the place where the enemies are lying, defeated and shattered, about the skulking-place. 2. Strangling them, O slinger, crush with thy armored foot, with thy mighty armored foot, the heads of the witches. 3. Dash, O generous giver, the whole crew of these witches upon the dust-heap in the great skulking-place.” A witch Dhvaras (provided the word can be taken as nom. pr.) is mentioned in iv. 23. 7; and we read in ii. 20. 7 of *dāśīḥ kṛṣṇayonīḥ*, ‘black-lapped witches’—with which compare the expression in x. 155. 4, *mandūradhāṇīkīḥ* (Pet. Dict. *cunni robigine* [i. e. *squalore*] *obsiti*).

The mythus of the robbery of the rain-cows by the Paṇis (lit. ‘niggards;’ here an appellation of certain water-stealing demons), and their recovery by Indra, received exceptional development. Indra, either accompanied by the Angiras, a

¹ Dasyu and Dāsa may be names applied to the non-Aryan inhabitants of India: compare Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*.

² *māyābhīr utsrīpsata indra dyām ārūruṣataḥ: āva dāsyūnā adhūnuthāḥ.*

³ *ūlūkayātum ṣuṣūlūkayātum jahī ṣvāyātum utā kōkayātum: suparṇāyātum utā gṛdhṛayātum dṛṣādeva prā mṛṇa rākṣa indra.*

⁴ *ubhé punāmi rōdasi ṛtēna drūho dahāmi sām mahīr anindrāḥ: abhivlāgya yātra hatā amitrā vāilasthānām pāri tṛḥā āceran. abhivlāgya cid adriṣaḥ ṣīṣā yātumātīnām: chindhī vaṭūriṇā padā mahāvaṭūriṇā padā. āvāsām maghavañ jahi cārdho yātumātīnām: vāilasthānaké armaké mahāvāilasthe armaké.*

⁵ *anindrāḥ* may mean simply ‘godless, impious:’ cf. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 123.

mythical race of ancient singers, or for their benefit, sends his female messenger Saramā (who in the Veda does not appear as a bitch or otherwise in lower animal form) on ahead, to discover the cows hidden by the Panis. Saramā finds their tracks, whereupon Indra appears, forces the passage into the cave of the Panis, and liberates the imprisoned cattle. Thus, i. 83. 4:¹ “Then the Angiras received the greatest power, because they diligently and faithfully kindled fires of sacrifice; the heroes captured the whole possession of the Panis, the herds rich in horses and in cows.” Cf. viii. 14. 8; 52. 3. Again, i. 62. 3:² “By command of Indra and the Angiras, Saramā found sustenance for (our) posterity; Bṛhaspati³ split the rock, and found the cattle; the heroes bellowed in company with the cows.”⁴ And iv. 16. 8: “When thou didst break open the rocks of the waters, then appeared thy Saramā first (i. e. she led the way); as our leader, open up unto us great booty, breaking open the cattle-pen, urged on by the Angiras.”

The richest and most dramatic development of this episode is found in x. 108. The hymn is explained in the *Siebenzig Liedern* of Geldner and Kaegi. The contents are briefly as follows: Indra's messenger Saramā finds the way to the Panis, who have hidden the stolen cattle at the ends of the earth, and demands them back. Boasting of their courage, the Panis will not hear of a restitution. Upon Saramā's representing their destruction as inevitable, they declare to her that the flocks and treasures are not at hand, but hidden in the mountains; and they attempt to induce the messenger to remain with them. She rejects the offer and advises them to flee. The last verse relates the accomplishment of what Saramā had foretold.

This battle of Indra's against the demons is, directly or indirectly, the cause of his being associated with many other gods, some belonging to his own, some to other spheres of nature. I now proceed to discuss these associations, and will first treat

¹ ād āṅgirāḥ prathamām dadhire váya iddhāgnayaḥ cámyā yé sukr̥t-yáyā: sárvaṃ paṇēḥ sām avindanta bhójanam ācāvāntaḥ gómantaḥ ā paçúm náraḥ.

² indrasyaṅgirasāḥ ceṣṭāú vidāt sarāmā tánayāya dhāsim: bṛhaspátir bhínád ádriṃ vidád gāḥ sām usríyābhir vāvaçanta náraḥ.

³ The presence of Bṛhaspati in these battles will be explained below, under “Indra and Bṛhaspati.” In x. 67. 7, Bṛhaspati appears alone as recoverer of the stolen herds, although in the preceding verses Indra fills this part; in ii. 24. 6 he is accompanied by allies, whose names however are not mentioned.

⁴ *Vāç*, properly ‘bellow, low;’ an expression less offensive, when expressing the heroes' joyful shouts, to the Vedic poets than to us. I know of no suitable English word for this passage.

of those depending immediately upon the conception of Indra as a warrior against the demons who steal rain and light.

Indra and Trita; Viçvarûpa.—A comparative view of all the passages of the Rig-Veda referring to Trita yields several results important for the relation in which he stands to Indra. We first discover that all the deeds accomplished by Trita are the same which otherwise Indra has to perform; and also that the two divinities do not appear as actual associates in their various acts and battles, and are not invoked, as are so many other gods, together. This might lead us to suppose Trita to be in fact nothing but a different name for Indra; for which would also speak the fact that Trita's name does not occur even once in Books iii., iv., or vii. Possibly "Trita" might be an epithet applied to Indra by poets of certain clans. But I will first illustrate these remarks by several quotations: i. 187. 1: "I will now praise heartily the draught, the preserver of strength (i. e. the Soma), through whose power Trita clove asunder Vrtra, who showed no weak spots;" viii. 7. 24:² "The Maruts cheered on the courage and zeal of the battling Trita, they encouraged Indra during the overcoming of Vrtra." In Book ix. (the Soma-book), many verses bring the Soma into very close connection with Trita; and the fingers of the Soma-pressers, the mill-stones for grinding the stalks of the plant, and the three localities of the Soma-offering, are called his.³ In x. 46. 3, Trita discovers the hidden Agni—"Trita Vâibhûvasa, oft seeking, found him (at last) by the cow's head" (i. e. at the extremity of the cloud: Agni=the lightning); whereas in x. 32. 6 the same thing is related of Indra. In x. 120. 6 Indra receives the title *âptya*, often applied to Trita.

From these passages alone, and from the circumstance that Indra and Trita are never invoked together, we should be almost justified in identifying Trita with Indra, in the latter's especial function as conqueror of the rain-stealers. Yet such an assumption would ill accord with other verses which allude to both gods as distinct. From the latter we should rather have to conclude that Trita and Indra are different persons; only they come into the closest possible contact in their prominent characteristics.

Moreover, whenever Trita appears with Indra he occupies a subordinate position: e. g. he offers Indra Soma, to infuse into

¹ pitûm nú stoṣam mahô dharmâṇaṁ tâviṣIm: yâsya tritô vy ôjaṣâ vṛtrâṁ viparvam ardâyat.

² ânu tritâsya yûdhyataḥ çûshman âvann utâ krâtuṁ: ânū indraṁ vṛtratûrye.

³ The fingers are *tritasya yoṣaṇaḥ*, 'Trita's wives,' ix. 32. 2; 38. 2; the stones, *tritasya pâṣyâ* or *yojanâ*, 102. 2, 3. Cf. also 34. 4; 37. 4; 86. 20.

him strength for the battle. So ii. 11. 20: "Indra, after he had refreshed himself with Trita's intoxicating draught, cast Arbuda to earth; the sun turned his wheel no longer [i. e. seemed to stand still—the same idea recurs on several occasions]; Indra with the Angiras broke open the cave;" viii. 12. 16: "When thou, O Indra, refreshest thyself with Soma in Viṣṇu's, or in Trita's, or in the Maruts' presence." Again, Indra sends Trita into battle, and imparts to him courage and strength, as in the verses referring to the destruction of Viçvarūpa Tvāṣṭra: viz. ii. 11. 19; x. 8. 7, 8; 99. 6. Or, finally, Indra captures the cattle for Trita, who then seems to have sunk to the level of a demigod or hero, and is in fact named together with such beings, as in x. 48. 2:¹ "I Indra am defense and might of Atharvan; I got the cattle away from the dragon for Trita; I robbed the demons of their strength, and bestowed the herds upon Dadhyañc and Mātariçvan." Such legends as these furnished the later collectors of the hymns occasion to assume a Rishi named Trita, who was then adduced as author of several hymns.

In some passages, Trita seems to hold the position of a semi-divine ancestor of the powerful Gr̥tsamada clan. Thus, ii. 11. 19:² "Thou didst once (*tat*) deliver Viçvarūpa the son of Tvāṣṭar into our hands, into the hands of Trita (who was) of our race;" ii. 34. 14:³ "He (i. e. the *yajamāna*, 'the sacrificer') beseeches them (the Maruts) for a strong defense, for his salvation, and we too join in with this devotion; (the Maruts) whom with their wagon⁴ he would bring near, unto his assistance, as Trita (brought) the five priests." According to x. 8. 7, 8, to be translated below, one might almost suppose Trita to have been Indra's son. In x. 46. 3, Trita is styled Vāibhūvasa, i. e. doubtless, 'son of Vibhūvasu;' *vibhūvasu* does not occur as nom. pr., but only as adjective, signifying 'possessing extensive wealth,' and is used of the thunderbolt (which is the instrument employed by Indra in winning the rain-cows, cattle being the chief wealth of the Indians at this period) in ix. 72. 7, and of Soma in ix. 86. 1. The epithet would suit Indra very well, and would speak for the explanation of x. 46. 3 just mentioned.

Unfortunately, all the 41 verses of the Rig-Veda which refer

¹ *ahám índro ródho vákṣo átharvaṇas tritāya gā ajanayam áher ádhi: ahám dásyubhyaḥ pári nṛmṇám ā dade gotrá ṇīkṣan dadhicé mātariçvane.*

² *asmábhyañ tát tvāṣṭráñ viçvárūpam árandhayaḥ sākhyáśya tritāya.*

³ *tāñ iyānó máhi várūtham útāya úpa ghéd enā námasā gr̥hmasi: tritó ná yāñ páñca hótñ abhiṣṭāya āvavártad ávarāñ cakriyāvase.*

⁴ *cakriyāvase = cakriyā (Instr.) + avase.*

to Trita afford no satisfactory picture of his nature, except in the points of contact with Indra. We know from the Avesta, however, that he is older than the specifically Indian mythological system. Compare on this point the essay by Roth, *Die Sage von Feridun* (Z. D. M. G. ii.), on p. 221 of which occur the following remarks: "The hymns do not present him in clear and lifelike form, as they do Indra, for instance, or the Aṅvins. He is mentioned merely in cursory allusions. . . . Trita Āptya seems to be, in the stage of mythological development exhibited by the majority of the hymns, a divinity who has half sunk into oblivion." To this points in particular the idea that he dwells in the furthest distance, for which reason all evil is banished to his neighborhood (cf. viii. 47. 13-17), upon which Roth finely remarks: "the distant, perhaps for this reason only, that he had gradually become more and more obliterated from memory;" likewise the fact alluded to above, that he does not appear either in Books iii., iv., and vii. That he is unknown to, or at least unmentioned by, the authors of Book vii., is the more remarkable, as this book is not only one of the longest, but also one of the richest in mythical material, of the whole ten. In the somewhat mystical and obscure hymn i. 105, verse 9 reads: "Where those seven (i. e. many, countless) rays of light are, thither my origin goes back; Trita Āptya knows it, he talks with my kindred." Likewise he appears as concerned in the mystical creation of the sun, in i. 163. 2, 3; and he is invoked together with other beings of obscure nature, e. g. with Ahi Budhnya, Aja Ekapād, in ii. 31. 6; he is called "the Trita of the sky" in v. 41. 4; in the three verses v. 41, 10; x. 46. 6; 115. 4, he seems identical with Agni; in viii. 41. 6, with Varuṇa; in v. 9. 5; 54. 2; ix. 86. 20; x. 64. 3, with Vāta.

For all these reasons, I consider Trita a god of the storm, older indeed than Indra, but driven into the background by the rapid growth of the Indra-cultus. If this be the correct view of his nature, then we must expect to find him standing in a relation to other gods similar to that in which Indra stands to them (cf. Hillebrandt, *Varuna und Mitra*, p. 94); yet these relations will be less clearly developed and treated with less completeness, because the figurative idea of every divinity is subject to gradual change, and because e. g. we cannot assume for a period when Trita, and not yet Indra, has to engage the demons, any so lofty or comprehensive conception of Varuṇa as we actually find at a time when Indra and Varuṇa stand side by side as fully developed gods. And so Trita

¹ amí yé sapṭá raqmáyas tátrā me nābhir ātatā: tritás tād vedāptyāh sá jāmitvāya rebhati.

displays great similarity to Vāyu (cf. Roth, *loc. cit.*), while in aftertimes, although later than the Mantra-period—to use Müller's expression—Indra and Vāyu are identified; so also he stands in particular relations to Soma, as was shown above, of course for the same reason which later made Soma Indra's inseparable companion: I mean the intoxicating, invigorating property of the beverage, which as we saw was Trita's Soma. The Maruts, who encourage Indra and greet him with joyful acclamations after the happy termination of the battle, act similarly with regard to Trita: cf. the already quoted verse viii. 7. 24, which now acquires a much deeper significance. For the relations between Trita and Varuṇa I can adduce but two passages, in one of which, viii. 41. 6, he seems actually identified with Varuṇa, and in the other, ix. 95. 4, perhaps with Soma.¹ I would explain this paucity of reference to Trita and Varuṇa together by the supposition that Trita had lost much of his importance before the types of Varuṇa and Indra had gained marked fixity of outline.

A dim reminiscence of Trita's vanished glory, and an allusion to his final subordination to Indra, seem to lurk in the following difficult verse, which I am at a loss to explain otherwise: ii. 34. 10:² "One sees plainly, O Maruts, your brilliant flight (path), when the sons milk the udder of Pṛṇi ('a speckled cow,' here = the rain-cloud), or when, O undeceptive companions of Rudra, (ye give over) Trita to the derision of the worshipper and the ruin of the feeble" (i. e. the ruin which befalls the feeble). In Book ii., Trita, although mentioned often enough, occupies quite an inferior position. In ii. 11. 19, he is called an ancestor of the Gṛtsamada-clan, for whom Indra is said to have overcome Vrtra; in the next following verse he hands Indra the Soma; in 31. 6 his name is merely mentioned; 34. 14 contains an allusion to the summoning of the five priests, an event not mentioned elsewhere. So much the more constant, on the other hand, is Indra's praise, and more than one quarter of all the verses in this Book refer to him. Now it seems to me not impossible that the poet, to whom the earlier importance of Trita could not have been unknown, wished to allude to his displacement by Indra by making the Maruts, —Trita's former companions, but in aftertimes joined with

¹ The identification with Varuṇa is explained by Roth from the circumstance that both are conceived as dwelling in the furthest heaven; by Hillebrandt, from the fact that both control the firmamental waters. The possible identification with Soma is of little or no significance.

² *citrām tād vo maruto yāma cekite pṛṇnyā yād ūdhar āpy āpāyo duhūḥ: yād vā nidé nāvamānasya rudriyās tritām jārāya juratām adābhyaḥ.*

Indra—abandon their ancient leader. At the same time, I acknowledge the strained nature of such an interpretation as this.

It remains for us in this connection to notice the mythus relating to the killing of Viçvarûpa. Viçvarûpa, called Tvaṣṭar's son, is a demon who steals the rain-clouds. He is killed by Trita, who is backed by Indra; in x. 8. 9, after in verses 7 and 8 Trita has been called his conqueror, Indra is said to have vanquished him. While, however, Indra slays many other demons, when no mention whatever is made of Trita, it is only in companionship with the latter that he is declared to have overcome Viçvarûpa—a circumstance which shows clearly enough that in the original form of the mythus Trita alone endured this battle (which is shown also by the Persian Thraëtona-Feridun mythus); and that the addition of Indra to the original story is to be regarded as a consequence of the exchange in rank and importance which occurred between these two divinities.

From this point of view, the apparent contradiction in the Vedic description of the relations subsisting between Indra and Tvaṣṭar is not hard of explanation: a contradiction which the later authors of Brāhmaṇas sought to explain by attributing to Indra downright misdeeds. Tvaṣṭar is on the one hand a divine being friendly to gods and men, who fabricates for Indra the thunderbolt, the weapon employed against Vrtra, and is consequently the friend of Indra; on the other hand he is father of the wicked demon Viçvarûpa, whom Indra kills. Hence all the ancient Indian and most modern European exegetes have thought it necessary to conclude that enmity existed between Indra and Tvaṣṭar, by no means to the former's credit, for which as further proof is adduced the circumstance that Indra drank up Tvaṣṭar's Soma. This latter episode can be readily explained in quite another way, as will be shown in the section treating of Indra and Soma; and surely no further proof is necessary for the assertion that Indra kills Tvaṣṭar's son merely because, in the Indian system, he is the successor of a more ancient divinity whose duty this was, so that no reasons for supposing any actual enmity between Indra and his armorer exist. The real difficulty is this: how did Tvaṣṭar, the trusty artificer of the gods, come to be called father of a demon hostile to gods and men alike? Which particular side of his character formed the starting-point for such a mythus?

Viçvarûpa signifies 'possessed of all forms.' Let us compare the Vedic descriptions of him with the account of the demon said in Yaçna ix. 8 to have been vanquished by Thraëtona.¹

¹ i. e. son of Thrita; in the Avesta called *Athwya*, = Vedic *āptya*.

We shall find the correspondences remarkably close. Viçvarūpa is called *triçīrṣan*, 'three-headed,' and *saptaraçmi*, 'seven-tongued' (x. 8. 8); *triçīrṣan* again, and *ṣalakṣa*, 'six-eyed' (x. 99. 6). In the Yaçna passage the opponent of Thraëtona is called *thrizafana*, 'three-jawed,' *thrikameredha*, 'three-headed,' *khsvasashi*, 'six-eyed.' The particulars are identical—with the exception of *saptaraçmi*, which is perhaps better rendered as 'many-tongued'—and the very name *viçvarūpaḥ*, 'who can assume any form,' corresponds in conception to the *hazairayaokhsti*, 'thousand-fold flexible, changeable,' of the Avesta. It now becomes evident that not merely the general idea of the conflict with a monster, but even the details of this monster's appearance, as found in Veda and Avesta, rest upon a common basis. If this be so, we can discover in the proper name Viçvarūpa merely the petrification of an earlier epithet *viçvarūpa*. The figure of the demon is Aryan (i. e. Indo-Persian); only his current appellation Viçvarūpa is specifically Indian; and also the god Tvastar, as his father, is a specifically Indian addition. This circumstance excludes the possibility that the parental relation between Tvastar and Viçvarūpa, which we find existing according to the Veda, rests upon a purely mythical conception, and we must look about us for other reasons.

Tvastar is often said in the Veda to have created *rūpā* (*rūpāni*), i. e. forms and figures. The Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa, at i. 4. 7, reads: 'Tvastar rules over the forms.' R. V. i. 188. 9:¹ "Tvastar, since he is the lord of forms, created all animals;" viii. 91. 8:² "In order that this one (Agni) be influential among us, as Tvastar among the forms which he has to fashion." But most plainly speaks iii. 55. 19:³ "The god Tvastar, the life-giver who rules over all forms, caused posterity to grow up; he created them in sundry ways, and all these creatures belong to him." The epithet *viçvarūpa* is also applied to him in i. 13. 10; x. 10. 15.

When, accordingly, such a Proteus-like creature as Viçvarūpa, and such an all-skilful creator as Tvastar, existed in Indian mythology, what was more natural than the conception which attributed to Tvastar the parentage of the monster, as though he had concentrated in it all his store of forms and figures? The mythological principle that the son's nature corresponds closely to that of his parent is here as well exempli-

¹ *tvāṣṭā vāi rūpānām iṣe.*

² *tvāṣṭā rūpāni hī prabhūḥ paçūn viçvānt samānajē.*

³ *ayām yāthā na ābhūvat tvāṣṭā rūpēva tākṣya.*

⁴ *devās tvāṣṭā sāvītā viçvārūpaḥ pupōṣa prajāḥ purudhā jajāna: imā ca viçvā bhūvanāny asya.*

fied as in the application to Indra of the epithet *goṣaṇo napāt*, which was explained above.

Only thus can I account for the fact that a later, specifically Indian divinity, friendly alike to gods and men, came to be regarded as father of the older, Aryan demon, hostile to both gods and men. But when the connection had once been established in the mind of an Indian bard, and recorded in song, his successors forgot at once the reasons and the justification of it; and unconcernedly sang of enmity between Indra and Tvaṣṭar, on account of the death of Viṣvarūpa, which however was not found in the older mythic nexus.¹

Indra's relations with the Adityas, and the development of the Indra-mythos.—The relation in which Indra stands to the goddess Aditi, and to her sons the Ādityas, has been discussed at considerable length by Alfred Hillebrandt, in his two works: *Ueber die Göttin Aditi* (p. 42 ff.), and *Varuna und Mitra* (p. 97 ff.). It will be seen that my investigations have led me to conclusions quite different from those which he has reached.

In the first quoted passage, Hillebrandt assumes Aditi to have been regarded as the mother of Indra. The supposition is not new; it is found in the Brāhmaṇas, and Sāyaṇa advances it with all confidence; but it has not yet been conclusively proved correct. Hillebrandt's arguments are as follows:

1. He refers above all to the hymn iv. 18, which I have quoted in part II. It was there shown that no unity of subject extended throughout the whole hymn. In the Anukramanī it is styled a dialogue between Indra, Aditi, and Vāmadeva—the only support for Hillebrandt's theory, since we are not informed how the verses are to be divided up among the speakers. Sāyaṇa, in his off-hand way, explains the poem very skilfully as a little episode of the family life of the Gāutama-clan. The sage Vāmadeva, still in the womb but about to begin his earthly career, and experiencing a powerful aversion to the conventional manner of birth, determines to open for himself a Northwest Passage, as it were—he resolves to break through his mother's side. Thereupon, according to Sāyaṇa (v. 1), Indra reminds him that not only men but likewise gods have always found the old-fashioned way good enough for them, and seeks to dissuade him from the venturesome attempt. Vāmadeva's conscience, developed even at this tender age, reproaching him with the temerity of his plan, he looks about him for examples of a similar violence with which to excuse himself. And suddenly it occurs to him that the mighty Indra himself has not always proved a model of virtue—that he

¹ For instances of such perpetuation of thoughts once struck out, see Aufrecht's Introduction to his 2nd edition of the Rīg-Veda, p. xii.

for instance regaled himself upon Soma in Tvaṣṭar's house, without so much as saying "by your leave" (vv. 2-4b). But Aditi, by no means pleased by these reflections upon her son (Indra), attempts by counter-assertions to vindicate his honor (4c-7). Thereupon Vāmadeva again claims the floor, speaking, however, no longer of his own birth, but of various events in the life of Indra.

This ingenious and diverting exegesis — which, if it be Sāyana's own, and not perchance derived from more ancient commentators, certainly does him great credit—finds unfortunately neither in the hymn itself nor in the *Anukramaṇī* any confirmation whatever. Sāyana was able the more consistently to advance it, inasmuch as on several other occasions he regards Indra as an Āditya; so, e. g., in x. 101. 12 (quoted in Part II.), where Indra is called "Son of Niṣṭigri," he identifies the latter with Aditi, for the word signifies 'she who swallows up Niṣṭi;' and Niṣṭi he identifies with Diti, the rival of Aditi. We who are less orthodox than Sāyana in our views as to the meaning of Vedic passages find this explanation unsatisfactory when we discover the complete lack of unity existing in the hymn.

The facts of the heterogeneous nature of the hymn in question and of the almost total want of connection between the fragments which are its component parts being ascertained, any argument based upon it as a whole falls to the ground at once. Still, if there were elsewhere indications that Āditi was regarded as Indra's mother, of course Aditi might be meant by the unnamed mother of Indra in this passage. We shall search the Veda for such indications in vain.

2. Hillebrandt refers, furthermore, to the circumstance mentioned in iv. 18, that Indra kills his father and is abandoned by his mother; and he says: "The mention of his father or his mother refers in like manner to the heaven, which Indra after his birth envelops in clouds." And further on: "Indra kills his father in concealing the sun, which by its rays has gathered the clouds [!]; he is abandoned by his mother when the clear sky, from which he was born, disappears behind the veil of clouds." Here is admirable reasoning! At one moment Indra's father is the sky, at the next the sun; his mother is the sky, and again the imperishability of the daylight (for this, according to Hillebrandt's very improbable theory, is the conception underlying the personification Aditi); and the covering of the sky with clouds is ascribed as parricide to Indra, and as infanticide to his mother. To bring order into the tangled relations of this sanguinary family would be a task of considerable hopelessness, and I pass on accordingly to Hillebrandt's other proofs.

3. In verse 4 of the hymn vii. 85, addressed to Indra and Varuṇa, the Samhitā-text exhibits the vocative sing. *āditya*, for which the *pada*-text gives *ādityā*, dual. Besides this passage, I know of but one other in the Rīg-Veda where the word *āditya* could possibly refer to Indra: viz. Vāl. 4. 7. There we read: *tūrīyāditya hāvanam ta indriyām*. The *pada*-text separates thus: *tūrīya ād-*, while Roth (Pet. Dict., s. v. *tūrīya*) proposes *tūrīyam ād-*. The hymn bears plain indications of a very late origin: among others, the evident modeling after the preceding hymn—a fact which greatly lessens its value as a parallel to vii. 85. 4. Returning to the latter passage, we see from 84. 4 that when Indra and Varuṇa are invoked together, *āditya* refers to Varuṇa, just as in iv. 42. 4 Varuṇa boastfully styles himself Āditya in distinction from Indra. Now it is much more natural to suppose that the author of the *pada*-text put an incorrect interpretation upon the verse—and he is proved by many an instance to be anything but an infallible authority—than to suppose that a divinity of Indra's prominence should receive only in this and the doubtful passage Vāl. 4. 7 an epithet so very significant for his whole nature as *āditya*, if the Vedic poets really regarded him as Aditi's son. Possibly the vocative singular, occurring in a verse addressed to two gods, may have appeared harsh to the author of the *pada*-text, whence he gave the form in the resolved text as dual. Another consideration, by no means unimportant, is this: it is quite indifferent for the metre whether *ādityā* or *ādityā* be read. Why then should the poet have said *ādityā* (sing.), when he meant *ādityā* (dual)? Even if we retain the dual, the expression is still no confirmation of Hillebrandt's theory, since the transferral of an epithet properly applying only to one person of a pair mentioned or invoked together to the other of the pair belongs to the best-known peculiarities of Vedic diction.

4. Finally, Hillebrandt combines viii. 12. 14:¹ “Aditi composed a song of praise for Indra,” and vii. 98. 3:² “thy mother announced thy greatness,” with iv. 18. 4-7. But until we have proved Indra to be Aditi's son according to iv. 18, this combination is worthless, since Indra is glorified by various gods and goddesses, not every one of whom is on that account necessarily his mother; and why not also by Aditi? Furthermore, the same idea of his glorification by his mother occurs in passages where any reference to Aditi is out of the question, as viii. 45. 4, 5, which were discussed in Part II. To combine the passages viii. 12. 14 and vii. 98. 3, and conclude from them

¹ *āditiḥ stómam índrāya jījanat.*

² *prā te mātā mahimānam uvāca.*

that Indra was son of Aditi, would be to imitate the character in "Pickwick Papers," who composed an essay on Chinese Metaphysics by reading up China in the Encyclopædia under the letter C, and Metaphysics under M, and combining his information.

So much for Hillebrandt's arguments. What I have to object directly to the reception of Indra among the Ādityas (i. e. for Vedic times—in later ages he was often called an Āditya) is as follows.

In the first place, I agree with Muir when he says (Sanskrit Texts, v. 12): "Indra could not have been in the opinion of the author of the Brāhmaṇa, at least as expressed in this passage (Çat. Brāhm. xi. 6. 3. 5), one of the twelve Ādityas (as he was regarded at a later period), since he is separately specified as making up the number of the thirty-three gods."

In i. 107. 2, Indra is mentioned by himself, then the Ādityas and Aditi together; so also in iv. 54. 6. In v. 51. 10 is said: "united with the Ādityas and Vasu, united with Indra and Vāyu, come hither" (addressed to Agni): cf. vii. 10. 4. And so in many other passages, with clearest distinction between Indra and beings of similar nature on the one hand, and the Ādityas, the real gods of light, on the other.

Finally, how could the circumstance that in the Veda such uncertainty prevails, and such speculation is indulged in, concerning Indra's descent, be reconciled with his adoption as an Āditya? There is no such meditation concerning Varuṇa, or Mitra, or the other Ādityas; why then upon Indra, if he was in Indian belief really an Āditya? In fact, his whole character, bold, impetuous, rough, ill consorts with the peculiarly ethical natures of the Ādityas, with their calm majesty and gracious benevolence. On the contrary, he stands to them, especially to Varuṇa, in a relation which Hillebrandt has well characterized as that between general and sovereign. Cf. viii. 82. 6 and 83. 9, and in particular the following: vi. 68. 3: "The one (Indra) smites the enemies with his thunderbolt, the other (Varuṇa), the sage, remains at home" (lit. 'among the communities').

The Ādityas, as supreme light- and sky-gods, are law-givers for gods and men, and all things stand under their dominion. Yet there are evil powers and wicked men that refuse submission to their just ordinances—demons of the air, who restrain the rains flowing from the highest heaven down to earth, who cover the bright firmament with dark clouds, and so threaten to precipitate the whole course of nature into confusion; and impious men, as well of Aryan as of non-Aryan race, who

¹ *vājrenānyāḥ çavasā hānti vṛtrāṁ śiṣakty anyo vṛjāṇeṣu viprah.*

oppose the faithful and ridicule their religion, and in many ways sin against the divine commands. In the natural as in the moral sphere, therefore, a defender of the laws is needed, for the Ādityas themselves are not of warlike nature—they dwell on high in the region of light, loftily distant from the strife and turmoil of the two worlds beneath them—and who should be chosen to this duty but the god of the raging thunderstorm, Indra the thunderer, irresistible by nature? Day by day with his faithful comrades he enters the battle against the goblins, they succumb to his lightnings, he regains water and light; and in like manner he assists his worshippers of Aryan blood, both when they strive with non-Aryan enemies, and when they punish the unbelievers of their own race. The following passages will plainly illustrate Indra's office as executor of punishment upon the outragers of moral law: x. 89. 8:¹ "Thou, O Indra, a patient follower-up of evil, hewest falsehood in pieces as a knife (an axe) hews limbs; whenever men sin against the laws of Mitra and of Varuṇa, as against an allied friend." So too verse 9: cf. viii. 56. 8. Indra is also called *vratapā devānām*, 'the law-protector of the gods'—v. 2. 8; x. 32. 6. The particular reason for this belief is found in the conception of his victories over the demons of the air. There is a verse which represents the conquest of these beings and the restoration of order to the universe as taking place especially for Varuṇa's and Mitra's benefit: x. 113. 5:² "There-upon Indra mustered all his courage; he drove Heaven and Earth further apart; he hurled boldly the brazen thunderbolt, which was acceptable to Mitra, to Varuṇa, to his worshipper." From the protection of physical laws his functions were then, as is so often the case in mythological systems, transferred to the moral sphere.

As by the side of the almighty Varuṇa the other Ādityas everywhere retire into the background, so is this especially the case in their relations to Indra, whom we never find named with Bhaga, Aryaman, Anṣa, or Dakṣa, unless Varuṇa be of the company. But there is at least one passage which brings him into connection with Mitra, and one which mentions him together with Mitra and Viṣṇu: viii. 85. 6:³ "Let us praise him who created all these creatures on earth, which stand

¹ tvám ha tyád ṛṇayā indra dhīro 'sír ná párvā vṛjinā ṛṇāsi: prā yé mitráśya váruṇasya dhāma yújaṁ ná jánā minánti mitráṁ.

² ād indrah satrā táviṣṭr apatyata váriyo dyāvāpṛthiví abādhatta: ává-bharad dhr̥ṣtō vájram áyasám cévam mitráya váruṇāya dācūṣe.

³ tám u śtavāma yá imā jajāna víṇvā jātāny ávarāṇy asmāt: índreṇa mitráṁ didhiṣema gīrbhír úpo námobhir vṛṣabhām vícema.

under his dominion (Indra'); let us present Mitra, along with Indra, with songs of praise; let us approach the hero with reverence." And Vāl. 4. 3:² "(Indra,) who receives the praises for himself alone, who boldly drank the Soma, for whom Viṣṇu took his three steps, according to the decrees of Mitra." The addition of Viṣṇu in this passage makes it highly probable that the connection of Mitra and Indra arose from the fact that Viṣṇu, as sun-god, becomes a dispenser of rain. For we find Viṣṇu mentioned as Indra's associate in the battle with Vṛtra, where he represents the ever-advancing sun. There is a doubtful passage, x. 22. 1,³ which Ludwig translates: "Where does one hear of the celebrated Indra; among what people to-day as of Mitra?" Similarly Hillebrandt. Better, I think, is the following: "Where does one hear to-day of the famous Indra? among what nation is he said to be, as a friend?"

Let us now examine those passages in which Indra and Varuṇa appear associated. The relation of defender of the laws, in which our divinity was discovered to stand to the Ādityas, is here equally prominent; but greater importance is attached to the ethical character of Indra's services, in accordance with the peculiar nature of Varuṇa. The verses vii. 28. 4 and 84. 2, both incorrectly explained by Hillebrandt, are especially significant for this relation. Thus, vii. 84. 2:⁴ "The heaven assists your mighty government, O ye who bind with bonds which are not chains (i. e. who, without making use of actual chains, yet hold the world in actual bondage, in moral subjection); may Varuṇa's anger not descend upon us, may Indra procure for us free scope." Here *u lokam* is not 'wide-spread dominion' (*weite Herrschaft*), as Hillebrandt explains it, but 'free scope' (*freier Raum*), i. e. liberation from the restraint imposed by demons and enemies. Pādas *c* and *d* are contrasted, and the further explanation of Hillebrandt is wrong: "The wish underlying the words *pari to vrjyā* can be only this: to pardon faults committed, and not to punish sin by suffering the enemies against whom Indra fights to gain entrance. That we may understand the verse thus is shown very plainly by vii. 28. 4"⁵—which he thus explains: "Protect

¹ The connection of the hymn forbids our referring pādas *a* and *b* to Mitra.

² *yá ukthā kévalā dadhé yāḥ sōmam dhr̥ṣṭāpibat: yāsmāi viṣṇus tr̥ṇi padā vicakramā úpa mitrásya dhārmabhiḥ.*

³ *kūha ṛutā indraḥ kásminn adyá jáne mitró ná ṛūyate.*

⁴ *yuvó rāṣṭrám bṛhád invati dyāúr yāu set̥sbhir arajjúbhiḥ sinithāḥ: pári no hélo váruṇasya vrjyā urúm ná indraḥ kṛṇavad u lokám.*

⁵ *ebhír na indrābhir daṇasya durmitrásō hí kṣitáyāḥ pávante: prátī yác caṣṭe ánṛtam anenā áva dvitā váruṇo māyí naḥ sāt.*

us in these days, O Indra; the hostile tribes stream hither with (weapon) flashing: may the wise Varuṇa doubly loosen us from the fault which the sinless one beholds." Now, this rendering of *pavante* by *mit* (*Waffen*)*glanz herbeiströmen* is utterly indefensible and ridiculous; and the 'doubly loosen' for *dvitā* equally so (cf. Pet. Dict., s. v.). I much prefer the translation of Geldner and Kaegi: "The wicked men shall certainly do penance; be gracious unto us in those days, O Indra; may the faultless one henceforth pardon us for the sin which Varuṇa has keenly perceived." This translation reveals Indra in a much clearer and more definite relation to Varuṇa.

One of the most important moments in the association of Indra and Varuṇa is however their common character as water divinities, from which are derived the majority of conceptions of their generosity, and their readiness to assist their worshippers and to bestow children. Yet we must never forget that, while they are both water-deities, they are such for quite different reasons: Varuṇa's abode is in the sky, he disposes of the heavenly streams and dismisses them to earth; Indra's realm, on the contrary, is the broad air, and he disposes of the waters simply because he has rescued them from the demons' power. But both are givers of rain, and hence of fruitfulness and prosperity in general.

Several passages illustrating their character as givers of water follow: vii. 82. 3:² "Ye opened freely the wells of water by your power, ye led the brilliant sun up into the firmament; in the frenzy of the magic draught ye made the dried-up springs to gush anew; make our devotions to gush out." Again, vii. 85. 3:³ "The waters also, these goddesses brilliant in their abodes, placed Indra and Varuṇa among the gods"—i. e. the bestowal of rain was a truly divine deed(?). They also give the cow, the symbol of the cloud and of prosperity, and bestow wealth: i. 17. 3:⁴ "Satisfy us with riches, O Indra and Varuṇa, according to our wish; we invoke you first of all." And v. 6:⁵ "By the help of these two may we acquire and hoard up; yea, may there even be a surplus." cf. iii. 62. 1-3.

¹ "Es sollen ja die bösen Menschen büßen; In diesen Tagen sei uns gnädig, Indra; Die Sünde, die Varuṇa fein erspähte, Mag fortan uns der fehlerlose schenken."

For *pavante*, perhaps a still better translation would be 'are sifted out;' in these days the wicked are sifted out, i. e. are separated from the good. (Geldner.)

² *ānv apām khāny atṛntam ójasā sūryam āirayataṃ divī prabhūm: indrāvaruṇā māde asya māyínó 'pīnvatam apītaḥ pīnvatam dhīyaḥ.*

³ *āpaç cid dhī svāyaçasaḥ sādāḥsu devīr indram vāruṇam devatā dhūḥ.*

⁴ *anukāmāṃ tarpayethām indrāvaruṇā rāyā ā: tā vām nédiṣṭham imahe.*

⁵ *tāyor id āvasā vāyām sanēma ní ca dhīmahi: syād utā prarēcanam.*

Further, vi. 68. 2: "By your zeal ye are the most excellent among the gods, the bravest of the brave, the most generous among the generous, of mighty courage, O ye who with your whole troop overcome the enemy as is right:" cf. also v. 5, and iv. 41. 3.

They are also often generous in the bestowal of offspring upon their worshippers, as e. g. in iv. 42. 8, 9, where Purukutsāni receives for her prayers a son Trasadasyu, and in vii. 84. 5. They are petitioned with especial frequency for help in battle. Thus, iv. 41. 2:¹ "The mortal who by his libations gains the two gods Indra and Varuṇa for his allies, to a league with him, that one slays enemies and opponents in battle; that one becomes celebrated through their mighty help:" cf. also v. 4, and vii. 82. 2, 9. Hymn 83 of Book vii. is a thank-offering for the help extended to the hard-pressed Sudās in the battle against the ten kings: vii. 85. 2:² "Men display rivalry in invoking the gods, when among the banners the bolts are flying; with the arrow, O Indra and Varuṇa, drive the enemies away, (drive them) asunder in all directions."

Of much greater interest, and also of much greater importance for a correct understanding of the two deities, than their common traits, are the differences pervading their natures—a point upon which Hillebrandt has bestowed much careful attention. The pertinent passages follow: vii. 82. 2: "All-ruler the one is called, autocrat (*Selbstherr*) the other; ye are both great and rich, Indra and Varuṇa;" 5. "Since, O Indra and Varuṇa, ye fashioned all the creatures in the whole world, Mitra in peace worships Varuṇa; the other, the mighty one (Indra), goes into battle along with the Maruts;" 6. "All the power of Varuṇa is displayed for great praise, this one's (Indra's) for his own glory; the one smites the weapon-brandishing enemy, the other with few (helpers) keeps the enemy in check." Further, vii. 83. 9:³ "The one smites many more in battle, the other watches continually over the ordinances;" 85. 3:⁴ "The one keeps the unruly nations in order, the other smites the irresistible enemies." Similar to the idea in vii. 82. 6 is the conception displayed by x. 66. 2, where the Maruts are said to be *indraprasūtās*, *varunapracistās*: perhaps 'led by Indra into battle, sent into the field by Varuṇa.'

These verses leave nothing to be desired in point of clear-

¹ *indrā ha yó váruṇā cakrá āpi devāu mártāḥ sakhyāya prāyasvān: sá hanti vṛtrá samithéṣu cātrūn ávobhír vā mahádbhīḥ sá prá çṛṇve.*

² *spárdhante vā u devahūye átra yēṣu dhvajēṣu didyávaḥ pátanti: yuvám tām indrávaruṇāv amítrān hatám párācaḥ çárvā víṣūcaḥ.*

³ *vṛtrāny anyāḥ samithéṣu jighnate vṛatāny anyó abhí rakṣate sádā.*

⁴ *kṛṣṭír anyó dhārāyati právikṭā vṛtrāny anyó apratñi hanti.*

ness. Upon the one side are majesty, dignity, repose, ethical sublimity, universal sway; on the other force, impetuosity, courage, delight in war, glory and command in battle. Hence it excites some surprise to find Hillebrandt's sharp characterization of the differences in their natures followed by statements which seem almost to imply that their characters might have been identified (p. 102): "But in spite of the intimate connection of the two gods, their natures are not completely merged; both display activity in the same direction, yet their original characters are not quite obliterated, and here and there in the Indra-Varuṇa hymns we find indications that the poets were well acquainted with a difference resting upon the original characters of both gods." Their natures could not be merged in one another: because, waiving the difference in their characters as ethical and non-ethical personifications, they belonged in the Veda to quite different realms of nature. What they have in common is by no means to be explained from any original similarity of character, but simply from the fact that their powers are directed to the same end, the preservation of order in the universe. Varuṇa is a god of light and of the sky; Indra is no sky-god (as Hillebrandt seems to suppose, to judge from the note on p. 68 of his work), but god of the thunderstorm and consequently of the air, in which, according to Vedic belief, the battle against the rain-stealers is fought out. How a god of the air could in ancient Indian (Vedic) belief be actually identified with a sky-god, be their connection ever so intimate, is to me inconceivable; but that, owing to external circumstances, such an atmospheric divinity could step into the place and usurp the functions of the other as supreme deity is not only inherently probable, but I think I can prove that this actually occurred.

It is now time to introduce the important hymn iv. 42, which I have reserved until the present moment because it offers a convenient transition to the question of the change in sovereignty. In the division of the hymn I follow Geldner and Kaegi. Verses 1-4 are spoken by Varuṇa, 5 and 6 by Indra, 7 by the poet; 8, 9, and 10 are later additions. Ludwig assigns v. 4 to Indra, by which Varuṇa and Indra, it is true, have each three verses to recite; but against this argues the fact that vv. 1 and 2 have the same refrain, which justifies the assumption of strophes of two verses each; besides, the second pāda of v. 4 is then no longer appropriate, since *putro aditeḥ* ('Son of Aditi') can only refer to the speaker, and Indra, as we saw above, has no right to this title. I adopt in verse 3 the reading *indra* (voc.) for *indrah*. Hillebrandt retains *indrah*, but his reasons are altogether inadequate. Varuṇa speaks: 1. "The kingdom is mine, the warrior's; all immortals are mine,

the all-enliveners ; the gods follow Varuṇa's will ; I rule over the nations with their very bodies (*upamasya vavreh*, gen., 'the nearest, innermost covering,' the skin : G. K.)." 2. "I am the king, Varuṇa ; mine are these heavenly powers even from the beginning ; the gods" etc. (as in v. 1). 3. "I am Varuṇa, O Indra ; mine are the wide, deep, firm-grounded twin empires ; a skilful creator, I formed all creatures and the two worlds, and I preserve them." 4. "I made the spouting waters to stream forth, I fastened the heaven in the seat of holiness ; Aditi's son, the holy one, spread out as was right the threefold world." Indra speaks. 5. "The heroes, skilled horsemen, the hurrying champions invoke me in the battle ; I, the generous Indra, incite the battle and I stir up the dust, I who am invincible in power." 6. "All this I did ; not the power of the gods even restrains me the matchless one ; when draughts of Soma and hymns have intoxicated me, then do the two boundless worlds tremble." The poet speaks. 7. "All creatures know thy deeds, as thou announcest them to Varuṇa, O wise one ; thou art celebrated as the slayer of enemies, O Indra ; thou didst set free the imprisoned waters."

This hymn contrasts the characters of the two divinities most sharply. And the manner in which the arguments are advanced is no less significant than the dispute itself. Varuṇa asserts in two verses his right to the supremacy, and adduces valid reasons. Indra on the contrary seems to say : "That concerns me not ; I will be supreme, for I am the strongest." In verse 7 the poet seeks to appease the jealous and insolent Indra by unreserved recognition of his power.

It is certainly true that, as Hillebrandt has remarked, the hymn contains only a sharp definition of the provinces of the two divinities ; and no actual allusion to a transferral of sovereignty from one to the other is discoverable. But let us ask ourselves : What induced the poet to make Varuṇa so strenuously assert and defend his supremacy ? What, if not the observation of that which was going on about him ? The simple fact that far more hymns and verses of the Rig-Veda have reference to Indra than to any other god shows sufficiently well that he had already, at the time when the collection was formed, become the national and favorite deity of the Indians ; but there existed still the older tradition that Varuṇa was head of the divine company. Here were two views, which, if not flatly contradictory of each other, were yet hard to reconcile ; and I perceive in the hymn quoted an attempt by a thoughtful mind to bring harmony out of the apparent discrepancy by the sharpest possible definition of the contrasting natures of the two divinities. Yet this difference of nature must have been so well known to every intelligent Indian that I see no neces-

sity for drawing so fine a distinction, except for the reason that a falling away from the unconditional acknowledgment of Varuṇa as supreme ruler, and a leaning to the recognition of the younger and rising deity Indra as chief had already made considerable progress.

The original signification in nature of Indra and of Varuṇa in the Vedic theogony, and the final ascendancy of the former over the latter, cannot be too carefully separated. For the transition does not occur in this way, that the one god, Indra, steps into the place of another, earlier divinity, Varuṇa, who originally belonged to the same realm of nature but was gradually forgotten; but the change was made for reasons purely external. A warring nation will naturally invoke the war-gods before all others; and the more numerous and obstinate the battles which they have to endure, the greater will be the honor paid to the deity who stands by the heroes in the fight. Moreover, the more constantly and urgently men need the assistance of any deity, and the more complete their dependence upon him for happiness, so much the deeper will naturally be their reverence for him. Now let us picture to ourselves those tropical regions, where for days and weeks together under burning, rainless sunshine all nature gasps for refreshment, for the rain which after long beseeching Indra finally releases from the demons' bondage; and let us further picture to ourselves the situation of the Vedic people—those times of ceaseless battle for existence with the aborigines whom they were slowly displacing; when, too, clans and families stood in life-long feud with one another for house and home, for land and people, and when the warlike Indra became the chief protector of the ever-warring Indians, their ideal of a mighty fighter—and we shall understand how he grew to be the favorite of all the nation; how his helping nature was able to throw Varuṇa's lofty person into the shade, and his cultus, originally perhaps confined to a few clans, to thrust the old Aryan worship of Varuṇa into the background. These are all points to which Hillebrandt has given too little attention. The facts that entirely different provinces and spheres of action are attributed to Indra and Varuṇa, and that the Vedic poets distinguished most accurately between their characters, can never prove that Indra had not already, at some time during the period of composition of the Vedic hymns (the "Mantra-period"), stepped into Varuṇa's place as supreme god. And this only do I maintain—for Indra never became a sky-god, nor god of light, nor a moral-ethical character; he was and he remained the warrior, the god of the thunderstorm in the air, the lord of the mighty battle on earth, the winner and bestower of booty, the peculiar champion of the Aryan Indians.

He never abandons his own province in nature for that of Varuṇa; but the changing fortunes of the Indian people brought it about that the war-god actually surpassed the sky-god and king of the world, Varuṇa, in importance.¹ On the other hand, we must not attempt to prove too much from the Veda. Varuṇa is therein by no means sunk to the level of a mere water- and sea-god, to the shadowy divinity of later times; nor has Indra yet reached the position of undisputed sovereignty in which the great epics present him (see for instance Holtzmann's able essay entitled *Indra nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata*, in Z. D. M. G., xxxii.). But the Veda offers, as I have attempted to show, the most conclusive proof that this change began in the period while the hymns were yet being composed, and was even far advanced at the time of their collection into one whole.

I now pass to the interesting hymn x. 124, which exhibits the transferral of supremacy from Varuṇa to Indra in a very peculiar light, and has been interpreted in various ways. Verse 1. "Come hither, Agni, to this our sacrifice, which is performed in five courses, to the threefold (sacrifice) with its seven threads; be the bearer of our offering, and our leader; long hast thou lain in the distant darkness." Agni speaks. 2. "I the god, secretly stealing away from him that is no god, seek for myself a way to immortality; leaving, as an unfriendly one myself, my friend, I depart from my acquaintance to a strange clan." 3. "Seeing him (Indra) as guest among another tribe, I establish (there) many sorts of worship; saying farewell to my father, the Asura (i. e. Varuṇa), I go over from a sacrificeless lot (sc. *bhāgāt*) to a share in the sacrifice." 4. "Many years have I served that one, now I choose Indra for myself, and desert my father; Agni, Soma, Varuṇa—these are now sinking; the empire has changed its course, I help it along by coming hither." Indra speaks. 5. "These Asuras (i. e. demons) are now become powerless; and do thou, O Varuṇa, if thou lovest me,³ enter (again) upon the supremacy over my kingdom, distinguishing right from wrong, O king." 6. "Here now is light, and here fair weather; here the sky, and the broad air; in future let us two kill Vṛtra; depart, O Soma, we will honor thee the libation with libations." (?) The connection of the hymn seems to be at an end here; I add the

¹ Cf. Roth, Z. D. M. G., vi. 73; Muir, Skt. Texts, v. 121 ff.

² Cf. Pet. Dict., s. v. *asura*, for the different translations of this same word in this and in the third verse.

³ *tvāṁ ca mā varuṇa kāmāyāse*. The accent of the verb speaks against Grassmann's translation: "And thou, O Varuṇa, must love me." See Whitney, Grammar, § 595 b.

other verses for the sake of completeness. 7. "The wise one in his wisdom gave to the sky its color; without trouble Varuṇa caused the streams to flow; the clear waters, delighting themselves there like women, impart to it (the sky) its aspect"—i. e. the clouds give the sky its ever-varying color and appearance." 8. "They obey the supreme power of Indra; he carries among them which joyfully spout forth; choosing him for their sovereign, like communities of men, they turned away with horror from Vṛtra." 9. "Men say the companion of the heavenly waters is a crane, which roams in their company; but the wise men by their penetration discover in him the jubilant, hurrying Indra."

This curious hymn, although evidently composed of fragments, and in part very obscure, yet affords an excellent idea of the manner in which a boldly imaginative bard, from whose memory the ancient importance of Varuṇa had not yet been obliterated, sought to reconcile the dualism and dispute for supremacy which he found actually existent in the religious consciousness of his people, and to account for and illustrate most graphically the gradual subsidence of Varuṇa and rise of Indra's power. The argument is nearly as follows. Agni is no longer willing to serve Father Varuṇa, who has abdicated his ancient throne, because the honors formerly paid him are now rendered to Indra; and he, bitterly as he feels the change, must likewise go over to Indra's following. But Indra is not minded to take permanently upon himself the command bestowed upon him in the battle against the demons. After overcoming them in his capacity as general, after purifying the air and restoring peace to the world, he voluntarily invites Varuṇa to resume his supremacy in the now re-established empire.

It is very unlikely that the first six verses, as given in the text, were all of the original hymn; and it is quite certain that vv. 7-9 have nothing to do with the preceding ones, and perhaps little enough connection with each other. An article by Roth in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xxvi. 45 ff., contains some valuable suggestions on the subject of these composite hymns.

Indra and the Maruts.—Indra's most constant companions in his expeditions against the demons are the Maruts, the Storm-Gods. He is called in several verses *marutvant*, 'accompanied by the Maruts,' *marutsakhi*, 'having the Maruts for his companions,' *marudgana*, 'having the troop of the Maruts about him;' and they are styled *indravantah* (x. 128. 2 et saepp.), *indrajesthāh*, 'having Indra as leader' (vi. 51. 15). In ii. 29. 3 is found the compound *indrāmarutah* (vocative). Sometimes they merely encourage him in the battle, for the

mighty god needs no assistance; so in iii. 47. 4: "Drink the Soma, O generous giver, with the Marut-troop, who encouraged thee in the fight with Ahi, in the bitter contest with Çambara, and who now with spirited acclamations greet thee, O thou with sorrel steeds." Cf. x. 113. 8 (quoted on p. 137); v. 29. 2; i. 52. 4, 9, 10; iii. 32. 3. Also v. 30. 6: "These friendly Maruts sing praises unto thee; they press Soma for thee." In v. 29. 3 they are even called his priests, of course with reference to these services which they are supposed to render him. According to i. 101. 7 they instruct him in battle: "The sharp-witted one proceeds according to the instructions of the Rudras" (i. e. Maruts).

Their number, if given at all, is variously stated: viii. 85. 3: "Thrice sixty Maruts, worthy of sacrifice, followed thee joyfully;" i. 133. 6 mentions but twenty-seven. Their connection with Indra is of the closest: i. 100. 5: "With the Rudras, as with his sons, the bold one conquers his enemies in the battle of the heroes; may Indra the Marut-leader, undertaking expeditions with his firm allies, be helpful to us." In i. 170. 2 they are called his brothers.

As stated above (p. 137), the other gods, frightened by the violence of Vṛtra's resistance, withdraw; but the Maruts are thought bolder, for Indra is advised to rely upon their friendship, that he may win all battles.

Yet indications are not lacking that sometimes the harmonious relations between them and Indra were disturbed. Thus, i. 170. 2:¹ The Maruts speak: "Why, O Indra, wouldst thou kill us? The Maruts are thy brothers; remain on good terms with them; kill us not in strife;" i. 171. 6:² "Let thy rancor against the Maruts be stilled." There is a verse, viii. 7. 31, which perhaps contains the reason of Indra's anger against them:³ "What now? With whom were ye on good terms, that ye had abandoned Indra? Who can count upon your friendship?" It was either cowardice or treachery on the part of the Maruts, then, which broke the friendship between Indra and his companions; even his trustiest followers abandon him at times, when the fight gets thickest—conduct which Indra repays with scorn and derision in the fine hymn i. 165, translated in the *Siebenzig Liedern*. From Roth's annotations to it I derive the following summary. Indra, who commonly sets

¹ rudrāṇām eti pradiçā vicakṣaṇāḥ.

² kíṁ na indra jighāṁsasi bhrátaro marútas táva: tébhiḥ kalpasva sādhuṃ yā mā naḥ samāraṇe vadhiḥ.

³ bhāvā marúdbhir ávayātaheḷaḥ.

⁴ kád dha nūnám kadhapriyo yád índram ájahātana: kó vaḥ sakhitvá ohate.

out with the Maruts as his companions, starts this time alone. The Maruts inquire 'whither?' Indra answers evasively, 'to a sacrifice.' Thereupon they are quite ready to accompany him, but Indra answers derisively that they were not so eager to follow him when he took the field against Vṛtra—an accusation which the Maruts are powerless to repel. But proving their bravery and fidelity on many occasions, and making the fullest acknowledgments of Indra's courage and prowess, they finally reconcile him to themselves.

Wilson's supposition,¹ that these verses contain an allusion to a dispute between worshippers of Indra and those of the Maruts, rests upon too slight a basis to be of importance. Probably the legend had its origin in the humorous fancy of the poet.

Indra and Vāyu.—Muir, Sanskrit Texts v. 145, says: "It is remarkable that Vāyu is rarely connected with the Maruts or deities of the storm." Our surprise will also be excited when we learn that Vāyu, though invoked in many passages together with Indra, is hardly ever mentioned as his companion in the fight with the demons. In fact, I have found only one passage—and that couched in very, general terms—which points to such an association of the two: iv. 21. 4:² "(Indra) who conquers together with Vāyu in the battle for the herds:" after all, a very vague allusion. Yet the connection between Vāyu and Indra was very intimate, as we may gather from the numerous hymns dedicated to their joint praise, and from the fact that subsequently the two were identified, so that either of them without distinction is taken to represent the middle region of air with its divinities. Perhaps this striking peculiarity would be best explained by supposing the Indians to have made different personifications of the phenomena of the winds—incorporating on the one hand the storm-winds and gusts which accompany the thunder-storm in Rudra and the Maruts, and on the other imagining Vāyu either as the wind in general or else as the storm which is unaccompanied by thunder and lightning. With the latter conception the fine description of Vāta (who is surely one with Vāyu) in x. 168 would harmonize perfectly. The subsequent identification of Indra and Vāyu doubtless sprang from a confusion of their original significance in Nature, when only the consciousness remained that both exercised their influence chiefly in the intermediate region of air.

The majority of hymns in their honor consist of simple invi-

¹ Translation of Rig-Veda, vol. ii., Introd., p. vii.; and notes on pp. 145 and 160.

² यो वāyúnā jáyati gómatīṣu.

tations to the Soma-feast. The first draughts are theirs by right (i. 135. 4); and Vāyu even has precedence of Indra (iv. 46. 1). Both ride upon the same chariot (iv. 47. 3), and after swift horses (*vājīnīvasū* i. 2. 5): vii. 90. 5: "The steeds which think through their own intelligence, which are yoked at your very wish, draw you; libations accompany your, the rulers', car, which carries heroes." Both are called *divispr̥c̥*, "skirting the heavens," an adjective applied also to their car (i. 23. 2; iv. 46. 4); and the latter is called *hiranyavandhura*, 'with golden box' (iv. 46. 4), and *nigutvat*, 'yoked with many horses' (i. 135. 4, 7; vii. 91. 6). The epithets *manojuvā*, 'swift as thought,' and *sahasrākṣā*, 'thousand-eyed,' are likewise applied to them (i. 23. 3).

As benefactors of mankind they are besought for wealth, children, and victory. Thus, i. 135. 8: "Ye drive hither to the offering of the sweet draught, to the Aṣvattha-tub in which lie the victory-giving (libations); may they be for us victory-giving; forthwith the cows bring forth and the grain ripens; thy milch cows, O Vāyu, never go dry; thy milch cows never dry up." In v. 5 of the same hymn we find the two called *vājadā*, 'givers of strength or vigor.' Cf. vii. 90. 6; 91. 2.

Indra and Soma.—The relations between Indra and Soma are easy of explanation. The verses in which the intoxicating beverage appears personified utter in poetical form the same thought as those which mention the yet unpersonified Soma.

Although all the gods have a right to the draught of the noble juice, the most precious production of human hands, yet none possess this in such a degree as Indra. It is Soma where-with his mother nourishes him on his natal day, and with which he strengthens his vigor and courage before the battle; Soma is *indrasya ātmā*, 'the soul of Indra,' and his *hṛdāṁsanāḥ*, 'giver of courage' (ix. 58. 3; 61. 14).

Both Iranians and Indians were acquainted with the Soma-plant, and the peculiarly invigorating and intoxicating effects of its juice after fermentation, even previous to the separation of their languages (Skt. *soma*, Zd. *haoma*); and they perceived in it something of divinity. As they were engaged in almost continual battles with neighbors and strangers, it is readily seen how natural it was for them not only to put their knowledge of the plant to practical use, by having recourse to a draught of Soma before entering battle, in order to banish all fear and

¹ té satyéna mánasā dīdhyānāḥ svéna yuktásah krátunā vahanti: in-dravāyū vīravāhaṁ rátham vām iṣānāyor abhí p̥kṣah sacante.

² átrāha tād vahethe mádhva āhutīm yām aṣvatthám upatīṣṭhanta jāy-ávo 'smé té santu jāyávaḥ: sākām gāvah súvate pácyate yávo ná te vāya úpa dasyanti dhenávo nāpa dasyanti dhenávaḥ.

instil courage into their hearts, but also to ascribe to the warrior *par excellence*, the war-god Indra, the use of the same expedient.

The development of the conception of Soma as a personal being brought with it a more precise definition of his relations to Indra, and likewise an extension of his helping activity into other fields of Indra's power than the war against the demons. So we find Soma exalted to a heroic, nay, divine personage; we find him associated with Indra in his battles against all sorts of adversaries; and he even shares in Indra's cosmogonic labors. In brief, whatever Indra accomplishes, Soma accomplishes with him. In many passages, notably in the ninth Book, this glorification of Soma is carried to the extremest excess.

I append a selection of passages to illustrate the different stages of progress in the conceptions of Soma. Thus, ii. 11. 10: "After he had drunk of the pressed-out juice, he brought to naught the wiles of the wily demons." So too x. 112. 5, and countless other passages where Soma is simply the intoxicating drink. But in the following it is personified: iv. 28. 1: "With thee, O Soma, for his ally, in union with thee, did Indra then make the streams to flow for mankind" (cf. the other verses of the hymn, and i. 176. 5); vi. 72. 1: "Indra and Soma, this power of yours is great; ye have performed the first of great deeds; ye found the sun, ye found light, ye defeated all darknesses and enemies." 2. "Indra and Soma, ye made the dawn blaze up, ye led out the sun with his light; ye have fastened the sky with a support, and have spread out the mother earth." 3. "Indra and Soma, ye slay the dragon Vṛtra, who envelops the waters, the heavens greet you with shouts; ye let out the floods of the streams, the water-floods spread themselves abroad." 4. "Indra and Soma, ye did place in the raw bodies of the cows the ripe milk, ye held fast in these colored bodies the sweet milk unobstructed" (i. e. the milk which streams unhindered from the cow's udder, without drying up). And ii. 30. 6: "Ye take away strength from whomsoever ye may purpose it, ye are encouragers of the upright offerers of sacrifice; Indra and Soma, ye have helped us already; procure for us free scope in this present strait." Cf. further vii. 104, a prayer to Indra and Soma for the chasing away of all sorts of demons.

These and other passages, according to which Soma, when fully personified and associated with other gods, accomplishes all the acts usually performed by them, show conclusively that we have not here to deal with any original nature-myth, but with an unusually rich and detailed embellishment of an originally very simple thought.

It was said above that Indra, beyond all other divinities, was addicted to Soma-drinking. It will be interesting to observe what expression the Vedic poets gave to their conceptions of his *facultas bibendi*. Thus, ix. 99. 3: "We strain the intoxicating draught, which is drunk chiefly by Indra." He is styled also *dyukṣo madasya somyasya rājā*, 'the brilliant king of the intoxicating Soma' (vi. 37. 2); and is thus addressed in x. 167. 1: "Thou rulest over the tub of the pressed-out beverage." As soon as he was born, Indra formed his habit of Soma-drinking (iii. 32. 9, 10; vii. 98. 3). According to iii. 48. 3 (quoted above, p. 128), he seems to have even preferred it to his mother's milk. He concerns himself little about *meum* and *tuum* when his favorite drink is in question, but overpowers Tvaṣṭar, and drinks up his Soma (iii. 48. 4 and iv. 18. 11).

He is invited to drink like a thirsty stag (*ṛçyo na trṣyan*: viii. 4. 10), like a bullock (v. 36. 1), or a thirsty buffalo (i. 16. 5); or as a very thirsty bull drinks a fountain dry (i. 130. 2). Nay, he drinks more than a buffalo (vii. 98. 1). His belly is compared to a pond, or even to a sea, in which there is room for the most enormous quantities of water (x. 43. 7). Soma, after he has drunk it, permeates all his limbs (iii. 51. 12; viii. 17. 5). Not only is he invited to satiate himself with Soma at men's sacrifices, but this is carried aloft to him by a falcon, *çyena* (i. 80. 2; 93. 6; iv. 26. 5; vi. 20. 6, *et saepp.*). Sometimes he indulges in more solid food at his drinking-bouts: in x. 27. 2, he consumes a roasted bull; in vi. 17. 11, a hundred of them; in v. 29. 7, three hundred; and his thirst then assumes such proportions that he drains three lakes of Soma. It was however still greater on another occasion, when he swallowed thirty lakes full of it, and that too in one draught (viii. 66. 4). He cannot wait until it is drawn for him, but gulps down cask and faucet and all (x. 116. 4). No wonder that after such exploits his Hercules-head is in a somewhat befogged condition, as described in the amusing hymn x. 119 (Geldner and Kaegi); or that he staggers about at the sacrificial feast, tottering like a boat in the water (ii. 16. 7), and receives the honorable title *vithuro astar*, 'the reeling archer' (viii. 85. 2).

Indra and Brhaspati (Brahmanaspati).—Indra's union with Brahmanaspati, 'the lord of prayer,' furnishes an excellent parallel or companion-piece to his alliance with Soma, and is similarly explainable: i. e. not from any common features of original nature-myths, but as the product of conscious deliberation. Indra is joined with Soma for a purely physical, with Brahmanaspati for a purely moral reason. Since the latter union is of no significance for Indra's nature, I content myself with quoting a paragraph from an essay by Roth entitled "Brahma and the Brahmins," in Z. D. M. G. i., which illustrates the

same development of ideas in the legends concerning Brahmanaspati which we found in the fables relating to Soma. "The request which occurs oftenest in the hymns (of the Rig-Veda), and is directed to Indra, is the prayer that he will oppose the machinations of the cloud-demon, who threatens to carry off the fruitful rains of heaven, or holds them already imprisoned in mountain-caves; that he will pour out the waters, fructify the earth, and bestow sustenance upon man and beast. If, as his name denotes, the nature of the god Brahmanaspati really expresses the victorious power of devotion, then we must find him in this myth-cyclus oftener than elsewhere. He actually appears by Indra's side in the battle against the wicked one; and in such a manner that to him is attributed a portion of the work which in the majority of other hymns devolves entirely upon Indra. And finally, in a few rare passages it is he alone who breaks open the caves of Bala, to bring to light the hidden treasures of the fructifying water: i. e. in the allegorical expression, the rich milch-cows." Roth then quotes ii. 24. 3, 4, according to which verses Brhaspati alone opens the caves by means of *brahman*, 'prayer,' just as Indra does with the thunderbolt.

The only entire hymn directed to Indra and Brhaspati, the 49th in Book iv., contains simply invocations of very general nature and invitations to the sacrifice, and offers little that is explanatory of the relations between the two deities. They are besought for wealth, especially for horses, and invited to get drunk, as is their favorite custom—a fine occupation for the "lord of prayer!" The verses of vii. 97 are mostly directed to one or the other of the two gods, but offer equally little. In v. 9 we read: "Help along our prayers, awake in us wisdom, make powerless our enemies and the evil-doings of our opponents." We find them called conquerors of human enemies in viii. 85, 15: "Indra with Brhaspati for his companion defeated the impious advancing nations." In i. 18. 4, Indra appears with his physical as well as his moral ally: "Whatever mortal Indra, Brhaspati, and Soma support, that hero receives no hurt."

Indra and Gandharva.—In view of the ideas contained in x. 139. 4, 6, I have preferred to discuss the relations between Indra and Gandharva at this point in my essay, although other views, almost diametrically opposed (found e. g. in viii. 1. 11; 66. 5; ix. 83. 4), might induce the belief that Gandharva should be classed with the enemies of Indra. Yet both sides of his character are easily explainable from one and the same ground-thought.

¹ *vīṇo ádevīr abhy ācārantīr bṛhaspátinā yujéndraḥ sasāhe.*

Gandharva is not the rainbow, as Roth at first supposed, in which he was followed by Grassmann; but rather the genius of the moon, as the discussion of him in the Pet. Dict. plainly shows. He dwells in the sky, or in the broad air, and is guardian of the heavenly Soma, by which is signified as well the actual Soma, brought into mystical connection with the moon, as the heavenly waters typified by this figure. Since now Gandharva watches over the Soma, or rain, a twofold conception develops itself: either, as guardian of the waters, he withholds them from mankind, and must therefore be brought to terms by Indra; or else it is Gandharva who protects the Soma, or rain, from capture by the demons, and reveals their hiding-place to Indra when the latter seeks them. The second of these conceptions is found e. g. in x. 139. 4.¹ The third pāda has either one or two syllables too many. Grassmann removes *indrah*; I prefer to reject *āsām*, and to read *indra* in three syllables, as is frequently necessary. I would also read *somagandharvām* as a compound. "The waters, when they had perceived the Soma-Gandharva, in whose possession lies all wealth, flowed out then in the right channel (i. e. down to earth); when Indra, hastening toward them, discovered them, then he perceived the veil of the sun" (i. e. the halo around the sun); v. 6.² "He (Gandharva) found the victorious (Indra) in the track of the streams; he opened the gates for those that were imprisoned in the rocks; Gandharva revealed their nectar (i. e. told Indra their whereabouts), and Indra made trial of the dragons' powers."

The opposite conception finds expression, as already stated, in viii. 1. 11; 66. 5; ix. 83. 4. Here Gandharva is guardian of the Soma, or rain, and Indra compels him to surrender it. Thus, viii. 1. 11.³ "(I invoke Indra) in order that he urge on the sun's steed and the two galloping winged horses of the wind; in order that he of hundred-fold courage may drive to Kutsa Ārjuneṃ; in order that he may surprise the unconquered Gandharva;" 66. 5.⁴ "Indra pierced Gandharva through in the fathomless air, to the joy of his worshippers;"

¹ *viçvāvasuṃ soma gandharvām āpo dadṛçūṣis tād ṛtenā vy āyan: tād anvāvaid índro rārahāṇā āsām pári sūryasya paridhīr apaçyat.*

² *sásnim avindac cāraṇe nadínām āpāvṛṇod dúro āçmavrajānām: prāsām gandharvó amṛtāni vocad índro dákṣam pári jānād ahínām.*

³ *yát tudát sūra étaçam vaṅkú vātasya parṇínā: váhat kútsam ārjune-yám çatákratus tsárad gandharvām ástṛtam.*

⁴ *abhí gandharvām atṛṇad abudhnēṣu rájaḥsv ā: índro brahmábhya íd vṛdhé.*

ix. 83. 4: ' "Gandharva protects his (Soma's) abode; invisible he guards the creatures of the gods; the holder of the net (Indra: cf. A. V. viii. 8. 5 ff.) catches the enemy (Gandharva) with his net; the most pious ones achieved the enjoyment of the sweet drink." Although this last verse is susceptible of different explanations, the comparison with the others quoted seems to point to the interpretation here given.

Indra and Agni.—The hymns to Agni in the Rig-Veda are surpassed in number only by those to Indra; and no two divinities are so often associated. Yet the verses which thus combine them throw very little light on Indra's nature.

Agni, as god of fire in general, naturally manifests himself in all the different appearances of that element—which being threefold, his nature is likewise threefold. He is god of the fiery element in the sky, and in this quality appears associated with Varuna, particularly as divider of day and night: i. e. he is the sun; as lightning, he presides over the fire in the atmosphere, and stands at Indra's side in all exploits of the latter which belong in this sphere; and finally, he is god of the fire upon earth, preëminently of the sacrificial fire, and hence is chosen as the messenger to invite and conduct the gods to the sacrifice, or else to convey the offering to them on high.

In these conceptions of Agni's character lay a double reason for associating him with Indra: a general reason, for which the messenger between men and gods exercises his functions oftenest for the most lauded and honored deity, Indra; and a more special one, according to which Agni, god of the lightning, the fiery element in the atmosphere, which is indispensable to Indra's victory over Vṛtra, naturally stands as ally at Indra's side. To the one or the other of these views nearly every conception of the alliance between Indra and Agni may be traced back. It is remarkable how Agni is everywhere subordinated to Indra;² as in fact the other gods lose a great part of their import-

¹ *gandharvá itthā padām asya rakṣati pāti devānāṃ jānimāny ādbhutaḥ: gr̥bhñāti ripūṃ nidhāyā nidhāpatiḥ suktātmā mādhuso bhakṣām āçata.*

² The two verses vii. 6. 1—"I praise the deeds of him that is mighty as Indra"—and viii. 63. 10—"Thou Lord similar to Indra"—are really no contradiction of this statement; for other verses show conclusively that such glorifications of Agni spring merely from the poet's fancy. In general, the Vedic poets seem to have regarded a comparison with Indra as the highest praise possible to be bestowed upon another divinity. Pūṣan is called *indro na sukratuḥ*, vi. 48. 14; Manyu, *vijesakṛd indra iva*, 'victory-giving like Indra,' x. 147. 5. Pedu's mighty horse is *carikṛtyam indram iva*, 'glorious as Indra,' i. 119. 10. In x. 173. 2, the poet compares a king, in 166. 2 himself, to Indra. The Aṅvins and Uṣas are styled *indratamā*, generally rendered 'most like Indra' (i. 182. 2, vii. 79. 3); per-

ance when they appear in the society of the mighty thunderer ; Varuṇa alone can claim anything like equal rank with Indra, and subsequently even he endures the comparison none too successfully.

Several passages relate that Indra created Agni : so e. g. ii. 12. 3,¹ where we have to understand the use of the lightning in the battle with the demons, in the atmosphere between heaven and earth. The expression is then transferred, with mystical intent, to the birth of Agni upon earth : x. 45. 3 :² "In the sea (of air), in the waters, in the udder of the sky (i. e. in the cloud : cf. iii. 1. 9), did he who is friendly to men, who looks upon men (i. e. Indra : cf. passages quoted in Pet. Dict. s. v. *nrmanas*), produce thee." Grassmann's reference of this passage to the lightning is undoubtedly correct. This seems to contradict the statements of vi. 59. 2, as quoted in Part II., p. 130 ff. And in fact the two verses are hard to reconcile—which is the less wonderful, as the conceptions of Agni's origin are in the highest degree uncertain and wavering, and evidently formed to accord with the phenomena of his appearance under widely different circumstances. Agni as a power of Nature, and Agni as this or that form of fire, have very different origins.

Agni's character as a priest or messenger to the gods at the sacrifice (since the offerings were consumed by the fire) is illustrated by the following passages : v. 5. 3 :³ "When honored, O Agni, bring hither the brilliant beloved Indra" (*citrām* might also be construed as a predicate adjective, in the sense of 'visible'); iii. 53. 4 :⁴ "As often as we press the Soma, may Agni run to thee as messenger." Likewise iii. 35. 9 : "Drink the Soma, Indra, by means of Agni's tongue" (cf. v. 10). Agni's tongue is the flame, into which the Soma for Indra is poured, and which stretches itself toward the sky. So also v. 51. 2, *et saepp*. The verse viii. 38. 1, if taken literally, would present a view not found, so far as I know, in other passages :⁵ "Be the priests of this sacrifice, Indra and Agni, for ye are victorious in battle and in sacrifice." The meaning probably is : Ye are the real priests ; men alone, without your help, have

haps 'most rapid' were better (cf. above in Part I.); since in iv. 43. 3 the rapidity of the Aṇvins is likened to that of Indra. In fact, the word *indrataṃ* may be an intentional pun.

¹ yó áçmanor antár agnīm jajāna.

² samudré tvā nṛmāpā apsv antár nṛcākṣā Idhe divó agna údhan.

³ īlitó agna ā vahéndraṃ citrām ihá priyām.

⁴ yadā kadā ca sunāvāma sómam agniṣṭ tvā dūtó dhanvāty ácha.

⁵ yajñāsya hí sthá ṛtvijā sásni vājeṣu kármasu : indragñi táśya boddhatam.

no power whatever. Strictly taken, only Agni is the priest. But we have here doubtless still another instance of the extension of an attribute which really belongs to only one of a pair, so as to apply to the other as well. Other well-known examples of this poet's license are *pitarā* and *mātarā* for the two parents, *dyāvā* for heaven and earth, etc.

The other side of Agni's character, according to which he appears as the fire of lightning, explains at once his connection with Indra in the battle of the thunderstorm, and the circumstance that both are invoked together as general helpers in battle, more especially in battles against non-Aryans, and as bestowers of war-booty and all sorts of riches. The process of development is here quite the same which we discovered in the case of Indra-Soma, Indra-Bṛhaspati, etc.: so soon as, for any reason, any divinity is associated with Indra in his battle for the rain, the motive is furnished for connecting him with Indra in all manifestations of the latter's activity.

Indra and Agni occupy the same chariot, especially when going to sacrifices on earth. Thus, i. 108. 1: "With your most splendid wagon, Indra and Agni, which looks upon all creatures, come hither together in the wagon, and drink of the pressed Soma;" v. 3: "Ye have united your friendly persons, ye are yourselves united, O ye Vṛtra-slayers; after seating yourselves in company, O Indra and Agni, pour down, O strong ones, the strong Soma."

In verse 4 of i. 109, *açvinā* are invoked and besought to make the herbs palatable for the second pressing: "Ye *açvinā* (i. e. 'horse-possessors'), with luck-bringing, skilful hands, rinse them (the herbs) and steep them in water with mead" (?) — i. e. that the herbs after being steeped in water may yield juice a second time. Myriantheus's exegesis of this verse deserves notice for its extraordinary absurdity (*Açvins*, p. 147): "That the lightning was conceived as a being with a horse's head, or as a horse, is seen from i. 109. 4 and vii. 1. 12, where Agni, the lightning, and Indra, are called *açvinā*, or Agni alone *açvī*, 'furnished with horses' or 'horse-tamer.'" But 'horse-guider' is a perfectly satisfactory translation of the epithet used here; and Myriantheus's conclusion of the "being with a horse's head" is extremely strained and altogether unnecessary. Indra and Agni are called *açvinā*, not because they have lightning at their disposal, but simply because the

¹ yá indrāgnī citrātamo rátho vām abhí víçvāni bhúvanāni cáṣṭe: ténā yātaṁ sarāthaṁ tasthivāṁsāthā sómasya pibataṁ sūtāsya.

² cakrāthe hí sadhryān nāma bhadraṁ sadhricinā vṛtrahaṇā utā sthaḥ: tāv indrāgnī sadhryāñcā niśādya vṛṣṇaḥ sómasya vṛṣaṇā vṛṣethām.

³ tāv açvinā bhadrahaṣṭā supāṇī ā dhāvatam mādhunā prñktām apsu.

poets imagined them as driving. Besides, it is not even certain that Indra and Agni are here intended by *açvinā*. For in v. 3 the *vr̥ṣanah* (the busy Soma-pressers) are mentioned as laboring for Indra and Agni; and in v. 4 the epithets *bhadra-hastā* and *supāṇī*, and the work they are exhorted to undertake, suit the pressers so well that only the dual number prevents our referring *açvinā* to them, since the press-stones are often compared to steeds. Thus Grassmann *ad loc.* If then *açvinā* here really refers to Indra and Agni, I can only explain the verse as follows: The gods for whose benefit the sacrifice is begun are besought to interfere in the process and watch over the details, that no mistake be made.

A few passages will suffice to illustrate the part played by Agni in the Vr̥tra-battle. Thus, iii. 12. 6:¹ “Indra and Agni, by one act ye shattered all at once the ninety demon-ruled forts.” Cf. i. 109. 7, 8 (*purāṇdarā, vajrahastā, vajrabāhū*). In i. 59. 6, Agni himself is called slayer of Çambara. Further, viii. 40. 5:² “Arrange the prayers after Nabhāka’s fashion for Indra and Agni, who opened the sea (in the air) with its seven bottoms, which was turned mouth downward.”(?) Cf. also v. 8. In the following, Agni’s subordinate position is emphasized: v. 29. 7:³ “The friendly Agni roasted gladly three hundred bullocks for his friend; Indra drank the Soma, pressed by mortals, in order to slay Vr̥tra, three lakes full at once.” Agni himself says in x. 52. 5:⁴ “I procure for you, O ye gods, immortality and an abundance of heroes, that I may present you with freedom; I will put this lightning into Indra’s hands, and then he will win all these battles.” And as Indra through his victory recovers light as well as rain, so we find Agni of assistance in this labor also: vi. 80. 2:⁵ “Win back for us now, O Indra and Agni, the cows, the light, the dawns that were led astray; thou, O Indra, yokest for thyself the quarters of heaven, the light, and the many-colored dawns; and thou, O Agni, the waters, the cows, as a team;” iii. 12. 9: “O Indra and Agni, ye have by the battle restored to order the light-regions of the sky.”

A further extension of the functions of both gods makes of them demon-killers in general, exactly as was the case with

¹ *indrāgniṁ navatīm pūro dāsapatnīr adhūnutam: sākām ēkena kārmaṇa.*

² *prā brāhmāṇi nabhākavād indrāgnībhyām irajyata: yā saptābudhnam arṇavām jīhmābāram aporṇutāh.*

³ *sākhā sākhye apacat tūyam agnir asyā krátvā mahiṣā trī çatāni: trī sākām indro mānuṣaḥ sārāṇsi sutām pibad vr̥trahátvāya sómam.*

⁴ *ā vo yakṣy amṛtatvām suvīram yāthā vo devā vārivaḥ kārāṇi: ā bāhvór vājram indrasya dheyām āthemā viçvāḥ pñtanā jayāti.*

⁵ *tā yodhiṣṭam abhī gā indra nūnām apāḥ svār uṣāso agna ūḥhāḥ: díçāḥ svār uṣāsa indra citrā apó gā agne yuvase niyútān.*

Indra alone (i. 21. 5; iv. 28. 3), and they are supposed to render assistance against human enemies, and to bestow booty in war and all sorts of riches (vi. 60. 4, 5, 6; 59. 9; v. 86. 4; iii. 12. 4; i. 109. 1, 2, 5, 8; vii. 93. 2; viii. 40. 4).

The verses v. 2. 8 and x. 32. 6 contain fragments of a curious fable, for which I can find no parallel in the Rig-Veda, unless the 6th verse of v. 2—in which Agni is said to be kept prisoner by the wicked, and Atri's songs shall free him—may be combined with the 8th verse. The passages are as follows: v. 2. 8:¹ "In anger didst thou depart from me, the law-watcher of the gods revealed it to me; Indra knew, for he discovered thee; instructed by him, O Agni, I came hither;" x. 32. 6:² "The law-watcher of the gods revealed to me him who was hidden and concealed in the waters," etc. (as in v. 2. 8). One at once thinks of the fable in Book x., according to which Agni, weary of his unending sacrificial duties, takes to flight, but is reinstated by the gods after Yama has discovered his hiding-place: cf. x. 51 and 52. According to Tāitt. S. ii. 6. 6' (see Muir S. T. v. 203), a fish betrayed Agni's place of concealment. The fish was evidently made the betrayer because the fugitive deity lay concealed in the waters. May not a similar conception have made Indra his discoverer? By "water" we may, in the Veda, generally understand either or both of two things, the waters of the atmosphere and those of the earth, which the poets intentionally confused time after time, for the purpose of imparting a mystical tone to their hymns, so that a distinction is often quite impossible. Accordingly, when we read that Agni hid himself in the water, by which one poet meant the terrestrial waters, and that a fish, as the animal which dwells in the water and hence is supposed to observe whatever goes on there, betrayed him, it is self-explanatory how another poet, who by "waters" meant those of the firmament, should have related that Agni was discovered and betrayed by Indra; for Indra was in the highest degree concerned about the heavenly streams. According to yet another version it was Yama who spied him out; the change of names shows that the person of the discoverer was a more or less arbitrary invention.

Indra and Viṣṇu.—Viṣṇu is the all-quickenings, all-preserving sun-god. He strides with three steps over earth, atmosphere, and heaven; and where his highest step falls the gods dwell. He bestows prosperity and fruitfulness; and in order that nature may subsist in undisturbed regularity, he props up

¹ hr̥ṇīyāmāno āpa hí mād āīyeḥ prá me devānām vṛatapā uvāca: indro vidvān ānu hí tvā cacākṣa tēnāhām agne ānuṣiṣṭa āgām.

² nidhr̥īyāmānam āpagūḷham apśú prá me devānām, etc.

firmly both heaven and earth. As god of fruitfulness he is associated with Tvaṣṭar and Pūṣan. Yet, as we have seen already, the orderly progress of natural life is constantly threatened or even arrested by evil spirits, whom it is necessary to subdue, so that Viṣṇu must assume the character and functions of a demon-slayer. But other deities perform a similar office—Indra and the Aṣvins exert themselves to ensure the eternal change of day and night, and the regular flow of rain upon earth; and naturally Viṣṇu is often associated with them. He is oftenest mentioned in connection with Indra, the demon-slayer in chief; and in the same subordinate position in which we have hitherto discovered all the companions of the mighty thunderer. Viṣṇu offers Indra the Soma, or is sometimes sent by Indra into the fight alone, in which case the latter imparts to him the requisite strength and courage. Again, he stands side by side with Indra, who bids him withdraw somewhat, to give free room for brandishing the thunderbolt (iv. 18. 11; viii. 89. 12: differently explained by Müller, R. V. Transl., i. 85. 7, note 2).

How Indra and Viṣṇu fight in company for the preservation of order in the universe will be best seen from a few extracts. Thus, Vāl. 4. 3 (cf. above, p. 153): "(Indra,) who receives the prayers for himself alone; who boldly drinks the Soma; for whom Viṣṇu took his three steps, according to the decrees of Mitra." In viii. 12. 27 Viṣṇu does this through Indra's might. Again, vi. 20. 2:¹ "To thee the gods yielded as it were the whole dominion over the sky, when thou, O impetuous one, allied with Viṣṇu, didst slay the dragon Vṛtra, who enveloped the waters;" vii. 99. 4:² "Ye procure free scope for the sacrifice, by making sun, dawn, and fire shine out; ye have brought to naught the wiles of the demon Vṛṣaṇipra, O ye heroes;" v. 5:³ "Indra and Viṣṇu, ye have broken open the nine and ninety firm forts of Çambara, and have overwhelmingly beaten the hundred and the thousand warriors of the Asura Varcin all together." Viṣṇu uses the same specific to acquire courage which Indra employs: vi. 69. 2: "Indra and Viṣṇu, ye who evoke all prayers, ye two Soma-casks."⁴ In v. 6 they are styled "a sea" of Soma: cf. also v. 5.

The same extension of functions which we have already

¹ divó ná túbhyam ánv indra satrâsuryam devébbhir dhāyi víçvam: áhim yád vṛtrám apó vavrivāṁsam hānu rjīṣin víṣṇunā sacānāḥ.

² urúm yajñāya cakrathur u lokām janāyantā sūryam uṣāsam agnīm: dāsasya cid vṛṣaṇiprāsyā māyā jaghnāthur narā pṛtanājyeṣu.

³ indrāviṣṇu dṛñhitāḥ çambarasya nāva pūro navatīm ca çnathiṣṭam: çatām varcināḥ sahasraṁ ca sākām hathó apraty ásurasya virān.

⁴ Cf. the German *Altes Bierfass*, and Goethe's "*Altes Weinfass*" (Faust).

often met with, when demon-slayers become general protectors and givers of wealth, is to be found here also. Indra and Viṣṇu are called *abhimātiśāhā*, 'conquerors of the attackers,' vi. 69. 4. In i. 155. 2: "The Soma-drinker escapes the fierce conflict with you mighty ones; ye are they who turn aside from mortals the aimed arrow of the bow-stretching archer." Cf. vi. 69. 1.

A curious reference is made to Indra and Viṣṇu in vi. 69. 8, according to which they "divided the thousand-fold into three parts." I can find no explanation for this, unless by the "thousand-fold" the universe be signified, which Indra and Viṣṇu might be said to have divided into three parts, i. e. heaven, atmosphere and earth, by restoring order to the disturbed course of nature.

Another difficult allusion occurs in i. 61. 7.¹ Grassmann translates thus: "As soon as strengthened by the juices of his mother, when he had gulped down the drink, the noble food, he, energetic and victorious, stole the bright-flamed, and hit the boar, shooting over the rocks." What Grassmann understands by "the bright-flamed" he does not say; in his dictionary he takes *pacatam* much more correctly as neuter, 'cooked food.' The words *mātuḥ sávanéṣu sadyo* are, according to him, equivalent to "while he yet subsisted on mother's milk;" and *viṣṇuḥ* is an adj., 'energetic,' and referring to Indra. On this point he agrees with Benfey, who renders the verse as follows (Orient and Occident, i. 583): "Hardly had the strongest hero gulped down the drink and the excellent food at the sacrifice, when he stole from the workman that which was to be made glowing, and smote the boar, piercing him through with the bolt." In a note Benfey adds this remarkable explanation: "According to my notion the sense is: Hardly had Indra refreshed himself upon the sacrificial offering, when he stole the thunderbolt made by the celestial workman, and smote Vṛtra. We receive here a new moment for the mythical conception of Indra, by which he links himself with the lightning-stealing Prometheus (cf. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 17); *pacatam*, Vedic part. fut. pass. : lit'ly, 'that is to be set boiling,' i. e. the thunderbolt, which must be made glowing hot before use." Against this speak several considerations. 1. The syntactical union of *mātuḥ-mahāḥ-pacatam* is very bold, on account of the order of words. 2. The accent of *mātuḥ* is an obstacle, since the word, if a genitive or ablative from *mātar*, 'carpenter,' would be necessarily accented on

¹ asyéd u mātuḥ sávanéṣu sadyo mahāḥ pitúm papivāñ cārv ānnā : muṣāyád viṣṇuḥ pacatām sáhiyān vídhyad varāhām tīro ádrim ástā.

the first syllable.' 3. The meaning 'that is to be made hot' for *pacatam* is quite indefensible, first on account of the form of the word, and secondly because *pac* does not mean simply 'heat,' but specifically 'cook over the fire,' and is used of food only. A "cooked" thunderbolt would have rendered Indra invaluable assistance in the conflict with Vṛtra, who showed no vulnerable parts!

Possibly viii. 66. 10 may instruct us how to render *pacatam*.² In this verse, *indra* (i. e. *indrah*) is certainly a mistake; *tvéṣitah* (= *tva* + *iṣitah*) shows that the vocative *indra* must originally have stood here, which is also indicated by the fact (acknowledged by Grassmann) that vv. 10 and 11 form a separate fragment, originally addressed to Indra. The collector or editor took exception to the inconsistent deviation from *sandhi*-rules in the case of the voc. *indra*—a deviation which was justified by the Vedic usage of metrical pronunciation—and corrected to *indra*, in the *pada*-text *indrah*. Grassmann translates as though he had likewise read *indra*, but makes no mention of it in the notes. The meaning would then be as follows: "All this the far-stepping Viṣṇu, sent out by thee, brought back—a hundred bullocks, a porridge cooked with milk, and a destructive boar, O Indra:" *odana* here = *pacata*.

In i. 61. 7, the words *savaneṣu* to *annā*, inclusive, seem to form a parenthesis, and we might translate as follows: "After he had swiftly and with joy drunk the draught and (eaten) the acceptable food at the Soma-feast, Viṣṇu, who was superior in strength, stole from that one's mother the porridge; he smote the boar, hurling the stone through him." Still, this neither explains the verse completely nor interprets the mythus. Unfortunately the story does not recur in the Rig-Veda. Both verses lack all connection with the others of their respective hymns, unless perhaps in viii. 66 the verses 10 and 11 form a strophe. From these two passages alone the original form and signification of the mythus are quite unrecognizable.

Indra and Tvaṣṭar.—The Rig-Veda offers the following for the relations between Indra and Tvaṣṭar. 1. Tvaṣṭar, the general workman and artist among the gods, prepares the thunderbolt for Indra: i. 52. 7.³ "Tvaṣṭar increased the power which resided in thee, he forged the thunderbolt of overwhelming

¹ Pet. Dict. s. v. *mātar*: "The reference might be to Vṛtra's mother."

² *viçvét tâ viṣṇur ābharad urukramás tvéṣitah: çatām mahiṣān kṣīrapākām odanām varāhām indra emuṣām.*

³ *tvāṣṭa cit te yújyaṁ vāvṛdhe çávas tatákṣa vájram abhíbhūtyojasam.*

force.” vi. 17. 10:¹ “Then, O mighty one, did Tvaṣṭar turn out for thee swiftly the thousand-pointed, hundred-edged thunderbolt, the eager, obedient (thunderbolt), wherewith, O impetuous one, thou didst crush the bellowing dragon.” Cf. x. 48. 3; i. 61. 6. For the doubtful verse i. 61. 7, see the preceding section.

2. Indra overpowers Tvaṣṭar and drinks up his Soma: iv. 18. 3:² “In Tvaṣṭar’s house Indra drank from the vessels the pressed Soma, of the value of a hundred (cattle?);”³ iii. 48. 4:⁴ “Mighty, rapidly conquering, of overpowering might, Indra changed his person as he would; after as was his wont he had overcome Tvaṣṭar, he seized the Soma and drank it out of the vessels.”

Myriantheus, who never abandons the unfortunate belief that each and every fable concerning a god is explainable as a natural mythus, i. e. referable to some event in nature, explains this violent proceeding in the following not less violent manner (*Acvins*, p. 146): “Tvaṣṭar is creator of heaven and earth and of all creatures, and in his house, as we read, was the Soma, which Indra drank after Tvaṣṭar had been overcome. This Soma can not but be identical with *madhu*, as indeed Soma is often called *madhu* (see x. 49. 10, and Kuhn’s *Herabkunft* etc., p. 155 ff.). From this, and from what was proved above concerning the meaning of *madhu*, the Soma which Indra drank in the house of Tvaṣṭar, creator of all things, can only be the rain, which he takes from Tvaṣṭar’s dwelling and sends down to his worshippers.”

But we can not spring so lightly over such real difficulties. Let us observe the two passages more carefully. Neither has a word about sending the Soma down to the worshippers: on the contrary, Indra drinks it solely for his own pleasure. Moreover, in the first half of iv. 18. 3 reference is made to Indra’s violence toward his mother; and if we allow any connection between the two halves of the verse, we are constrained to admit that the similar nature of the actions mentioned respectively in both was the reason for their combination in

¹ *ádha tváṣṭā te mahá ugra vájraṁ sahásrabhr̥ṣṭīm vavṛtac chatācṛim: nīkāmam arāmaṇasaṁ yéna návantam áhiṁ sám piṇag ṛjīṣin.*

² *tváṣṭur gṛhē apibat sómam índraḥ çatadhanyāṁ camvòḥ sutásya.*

³ Ludwig translates as follows (*Die philosoph. u. relig. Anschauungen d. Veda*, p. 31): “He looks upon his dying mother: ‘I will not refuse to yield to him, I will follow him;’ [Indra now breaks into Tvaṣṭar’s house, to procure Soma for his dying mother, and kills Tvaṣṭar’s son] in Tvaṣṭar’s house Indra drank Soma of hundred-fold value, from the two vessels of juice.” I confess my inability to comprehend this.

⁴ *ugrás turāṣāl̥ abhībhūtyojā yathāvaçám tanvāṁ cakra eṣāḥ: tváṣṭāram índro janúṣābhibhūyāmúṣyā sómam apibac camúṣu.*

one stanza. Now comparing iii. 48. 4, we perceive that the appropriation of Tvaṣṭar's Soma was an act of pure violence, as is indicated by the occurrence of *abhi-bhū* twice. This accords well with the whole hymn iii. 48, which treats of Indra's extraordinary fondness for the Soma, and his dependence upon it for his strength, so that he seizes upon it greedily the very moment after his birth. In every verse except the 5th, which consists merely of invocations, mention is made of his Soma-drinking, and no reason exists for taking the word *soma* in vv. 1-3 in any but the usual sense: why then all at once in v. 5 in the signification of "rain?" Similarly iv. 18, as far as its unity extends, consists largely of references to Indra's violent and headstrong nature. For this reason doubtless the collectors placed the 3rd verse among the others, well-knowing that no deed of especial friendliness to mankind was commemorated by it.

Myriantheus's theory moreover involves him in a contradiction. What has Tvaṣṭar to do with the rain? If Indra robs him of the waters, to bestow them upon mankind, then Tvaṣṭar must have detained them by force, which would make him an enemy of gods and men—a conception of his nature utterly at variance with that otherwise entertained. For Tvaṣṭar fashions the thunderbolt for Indra, that he may conquer the rain-stealing demons. It is undoubtedly true that *madhu* often signifies the sweet Soma, and is often metaphorically transferred to the rain; but in iii. 48. 4 *madhu* does not occur, and we have no right to explain *soma* there of the rain. Besides, the verse x. 49. 10, which Myriantheus quotes to sustain his position, proves nothing for him, since *madhu* there refers not to Soma or the rain at all, but to plain earthly cow's milk. Indra is boasting of his own deeds. Among them was this: "I put into the cows the white milk, which not even Tvaṣṭar put into them; into the udders and bodies of the cows the precious, sweet, delicious milk, for mixing¹ the Soma."

3. Indra causes the death of Tvaṣṭar's son Viçvarūpa. This has been discussed in the section "Indra and Trita."

Indra and the Rbhus.—The Rbhus bear nearly the same relation as Tvaṣṭar to Indra, being engaged as skilful artisans on his behalf. In most cases no distinction is made between the three, Rbhuksan, Vāja, and Vibhvan. But iv. 33. 9 gives a more detailed account: "Vāja acted as artisan for (all) the gods, Rbhuksan for Indra, Vibhvan for Varuṇa." They build Indra's chariot and fashion his steeds: i. 111. 1:² "They, work-

¹ *āçīram*, infin. from *ā + çar* = *ā + çrī*: cf. viii. 6. 19.

² *tákṣan rátham suvṛtam vidmanāpasas tákṣan hárī indravāhā vṛṣaṇvasū*.

ing with intelligence, built for Indra the well-wheeled chariot, they fashioned the steeds which pull Indra and bring with them great riches." The same characteristic of care in their work is emphasized in i. 20. 2:¹ "Those who with right understanding created for Indra the steeds which harness themselves at the word, received for their exertions a sacrifice"—i. e. they were deemed worthy of divine honors; before this, so the story runs, they had not been considered as actual divinities. We read in v. 31. 4:² "The Anus prepared the chariot for thy steed." *Anu*, an appellation of a non-Aryan race,³ seems to indicate that the *R̥bhus* were especially honored by this people, or that the Anus had developed unusual skill in wagon-building.⁴

These relations between Indra and his artificers were the basis of further connections. In iv. 35. 7 we read: "O guider of sorrel steeds, thou hast drunk (alone) in the early morning, and the midday pressing belonged likewise to thee alone; drink now (i. e. at evening) with the wealth-bestowing *R̥bhus*, with whom thou hast entered into friendship, by reason of their skill." Cf. iii. 52. 6. Indra himself is styled *r̥bhukṣan* in i. 111. 4; vii. 37. 4; x. 74. 5; and in iv. 37. 5 *R̥bhu's* strength is compared to Indra's.

Indra as Chief of the Vasus.—The character of the Vasus is so vague, so little developed and individualized, that we shall hardly discover any internal reason for their union with Indra as their chief. Certain passages seem to indicate that the gods were divided into three classes, *Ādityas*, *Rudras*, and *Vasus*; so e. g. ii. 31. 1: "Help our chariot, O *Mitra* and *Varuna*, joined with the *Ādityas*, the *Rudras*, the *Vasus*." In x. 48. 11 Indra says of himself: "I break not the laws of the gods, of the *Ādityas*, the *Vasus*, the *Rudras*." And x. 66. 3: "May Indra with the *Vasus* guard our dwelling, *Aditi* with the *Ādityas* afford us protection, the god *Rudra* with the *Rudras* show us mercy, and *Tvaṣṭar* with the goddesses help us to prosperity."

I know of but one verse which justifies any conclusion as to the real nature of the Vasus: vii. 47. 2:⁵ "Ye waters, may the son of the waters (*Agni*) protect your sweet waves, with which Indra together with the *Vasus* refreshes himself—these (waves)

¹ *yá indrāya vacoyújā tataksúr mánasā hárí : çámibhir yajñám ācata.*

² *ánavas te rátham āçvāya takṣan.*

³ So Roth, *Pet. Dict. s. v.*; Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 125, considers them Aryans.

⁴ Perhaps both. The word *anu* is not wholly clear, and perhaps in this passage is used quite appellatively of the *R̥bhu*.

⁵ *tám ūrmím āpo mādhumattamañ vo 'pām nāpād avatv āçuhémā : yás-minn indro vásubhir mādáyāte tám açyāma devayānto vo adyá.*

may we receive to-day from you." We might suppose from this that the Vasus were imagined to have played a part in the recapture of the waters; yet other indications of such an idea are lacking. Perhaps the connection between them and Indra is but the product of later schematizing: as Varuṇa was placed at the head of the Ādityas, and Rudra over the Rudras, so also, in lack of a chief for the Vasus, the most prominent among the remaining divinities was chosen. *Vasupati*, used often of Indra, may signify either 'Lord of the Vasus' or 'Lord of Riches'—in most cases doubtless the latter; and perhaps the name, at first used in the latter sense, gave rise by its very ambiguity to the idea that Indra stood in near relations to the Vasus.

Indra's battles with human enemies.—It was so natural for Indra, the mighty warrior of the atmosphere, the doughty conqueror of demons, the fighter *par excellence* and ideal of a warlike hero among the gods, to advance to the position of the war-god, that the mere quotation of several significant passages will render unnecessary any more detailed comments. The verses which I shall here adduce might be classified with equal right with those which yield information concerning Indra's relations with his worshippers; but I have preferred to introduce them here, that we may have the portrait of Indra as a warrior complete before our eyes, ere turning to the results of his battles, in which he appears as a cosmogonic power, a god of benevolence, etc.

The most general conceptions offer themselves in such passages as ii. 30. 10:¹ "Together with our warlike heroes, O hero, perform what deeds thou hast to perform; long have (the enemies) been puffed up; smite them and bring us their possessions;" iv. 16. 17:² "In the moment when the sharp weapons of men are flying about, when the dreadful shock occurs, then, O faithful hero, then be thou protector of our bodies." Cf. also the other verses of the same hymn, and vii. 31. 3, 6.

But Indra enters into yet closer alliance with mankind—he becomes, like other gods, especially Agni and the Aṅvins, the especial guardian of the Aryan races, who regard him as their exclusive national property, and their champion against the aboriginal inhabitants of the Indian country which they overrun. These aborigines seem often to have been viewed rather as devils than as men; they are styled *dasyu* and *dāsa* (see Zimmer, p. 109 ff.). Muir, S. T. v. 113, has collected the

¹ *asmākebhiḥ sātvaḥḥiḥ cūra cūrāir vīryā kṛdhi yāni te kārtvāni: jyóg abhūvann ānūdhūpitāso hatvī tēḡām ā bhārā no vāsūni.*

² *tigmā yād antār aṇāniḥ pātāti kāsmiñ cic chūra muhuké jánānām: ghorā yād aṛya sāmṣtir bhāvāty ādha smā nas tanvò bodhi gopāḥ.*

verses most significant for this side of Indra's character. Thus, i. 103. 3:¹ "Bearing the thunderbolt (? thus Sây.), and confident in his strength, he strode on ahead, breaking down the hostile (*dāsīh*, fr. *dāsa*, 'demoniac') forts; O thunderbolt-bearer, hurl thy weapon with skill against the Dasyu, augment the strength and glory of the Aryans, O Indra." Cf. i. 130. 8; iv. 26. 2; vi. 18. 3; viii. 14. 15; 24. 27; x. 49. 2. In the following verse Indra's assistance is very significantly alluded to: i. 131. 5:² "They praised this thy deed of valor, O giant, that thou in thy drunkenness didst help the suppliants, didst help those who sought after alliance with thee; for them thou didst make (i. e. didst inspire them with) a battle-song, to their victory in the battle; they that were on the march gained one stream after another" (*saṇṣṇata*, intens., expressing a repetition of the action).

The verse is of peculiar interest, in that it mentions the assistance lent by Indra to the Aryans during their wanderings through the Penjab toward the south and east, and the gradual occupation of the peninsula. The *çravyāntah* are those engaged in the migration.³ The Vedic Indians led a life half nomadic, half settled, and the older parts of the Veda date from the time of their slow progress to and across the Indus-valley, and into the interior of Hindustan.

Jealousy and enmity between neighboring tribes of the same race was a very ancient trait of Indo-European character, which in many instances has remained undiminished to the present day. The Greeks presented, in spite of their close relationship, an example of the most constant quarreling; and in later times Germanic tribes offer the same spectacle. That the Indians were not only not free from such a "particularism," but even infected with it to the greatest extent, is evident from the post-Vedic history of the Indian peninsula, where no unity of Indian rule ever grew up, the land being split up after the fashion of Germany and Italy into countless little sovereignties and duodecimo principalities. Tribe fought against tribe, clan against clan, community against community; and in all such contests each party sought to gain Indra's help for itself, and was at great pains to allure the god by enticing promises from an alliance with others to their own. See particularly the

¹ *sá jātúbharmā çraddádāhāna ójah púro vibhindānn acarad ví dāstīh : vidvān vajrin dāsyaive hetim asyāryam sāho vardhayā dyumnām indra.*

² *ād it te asyā vīryāsya cakīran mádeṣu vṛṣann uḥjo yád āvitha sakhiyató yád āvitha: cakārtha kārām ebhyaḥ pṛtanāsu prāvantave: té anyām-anyām nadyām saṇṣṇata çravyāntah saṇṣṇata.*

³ This passage speaks strongly against Grassmann's explanation of *çravya*: see his Dict.

hymn iv. 24. I quote some passages in illustration : iv. 30. 18 (Geldner and Kaegi) : "Thou didst smite the Aryans from the Sarayu, Arṇa and Citraratha, both in one day ;" vi. 22. 10 :¹ "Bring hither to us, O Indra, that we may conquer our enemies, that great never-ceasing assistance, whereby, O thunderer, thou didst put to flight barbarian and Aryan enemies and the neighboring clans." Cf. vi. 33. 3 ; 46. 8 ; viii. 52. 7.

We have in the different allusions to Kutsa and his relations with Indra a most instructive example of these quarrels. Kutsa Ārjuneya, a celebrated ṛṣi of ancient times, stood on terms of the closest intimacy with Indra. They ride upon the same chariot (vi. 20. 5), with the steeds of the wind (i. 174. 5 ; 175. 4) ; and Indra kills the demon Ḫuṣṇa as an especial mark of favor to Kutsa, and steals, again for him, one wheel from the sun's chariot (i. 175. 4 ; iv. 30. 4) ; or, as v. 29. 4 relates more circumstantially, takes away one wheel indeed, but leaves the other in place, that the sun's progress may not be altogether arrested. By far the greater number of passages exhibit this view. But in others we discover a conception exactly opposed to this. Thus, i. 53. 10 : "Thou, O Indra, didst give Kutsa, Atithigva, and Āyu into the hand of the great young king (Sugravas) ;" and similarly Indra deserts him according to ii. 14. 7 ; iv. 26. 1 ; vi. 18. 3 ; and even kills him (Vāl. 5. 2). The verse x. 38. 5 contains a curiously worded prayer : "Break loose from Kutsa, and come hither ; why sits one of thy greatness as though bound fast by the testicles ?" In like manner Indra, who usually takes sides with the (non-Aryan ?) heroes Turvaṇa and Yadu, is in vii. 19. 8 entreated to kill them. Such differences are easily explained, when we consider how many scores of authors have left memorials of themselves in the Veda, from the fact of continual petty warfare between tribes of kindred race, who nevertheless presented upon occasion a solid front to the alien foe.

Indra and Parvata.—On account of the prayers which they contain, I introduce the following verses here. Parvata is doubtless, as Roth supposes, a genius of the mountains, and at the same time ruler of the clouds. Further than this, his character can hardly be determined with certainty. Thus, i. 122. 3 :² "May the wanderer, the early battler, make us rejoice ; may the wind, which accompanies the waters, make us rejoice ; Indra and Parvata, bestow presents upon us ; may all

¹ ā samyátam indra ṇaḥ svastīm çatrutūryāya bṛhatīm āmṛdhrām : yāyā dāsāny āryāṇi vṛtrā káro vajrint sutúká náhuṣāṇi.

² Doubtless a proverbial expression.

³ mamáttu ṇaḥ párijmā vasarhá mamáttu vāto apām vīṣanvān : çiçitám indrāparvatā yuvám nas tán no víçve varivasyantu devāḥ.

the gods grant us free room;" i. 132. 6:¹ "As champions, O Indra and Parvata, thrust aside every one that would conquer us, thrust him aside with the thunderbolt;" iii. 53. 1:² "Indra and Parvata, bring hither in the lofty wagon the wished-for, the hero-strengthening refreshment; graciously accept at the sacrifice the proffered gifts; delight yourselves with the hymns, intoxicating yourselves with the beverage."

Indra's Cosmogonic Labors.—In the passages of the Rig-Veda which have now to engage our attention, Indra's activity reaches far beyond his original sphere in nature. He rises from a god who manifests himself in the thunderstorm to the level of a creator and preserver of the universe, to a cosmogonic power whose activity makes that of the other deities, at least in this field, seem almost superfluous. Yet the development of ideas which here presents itself is perfectly logical and intelligible. Indra's cosmogonic activity is after all nothing but an ideal generalization of his labors in his own province of nature. The intermediate steps in the development of these ideas I suppose to have been as follows:

1. Indra restores to the various regions of the universe, which have been shaken and confused by the battle of the elements, their pristine order.

2. He who does this must in the first place have arranged and fixed the spaces of the universe.

3. Their arranger must also have been their creator.

Such seem to have been the successive stages of thought. In the case of particular verses it is often difficult, if not impossible, to say upon what step of development the ideas contained in them stand; when taken in their totality, however, they indicate with tolerable certainty such a gradation.

1. After the battle of the elements, Indra restores order to the universe. Thus, i. 56. 5:³ "When thou hadst fastened the atmosphere above the unshakable earth in the frame of the sky, by thy power; when thou, O Indra, in intoxication, in impatient excitement, hadst slain the enemy, then didst thou let loose the water-floods" (cf. v. 6); x. 113. 4:⁴ "As soon as he was born, the hero crowded his enemies apart; he looked about

¹ yuvám tám indrāparvatā puroyúdhā yó naḥ pṛtanyād āpa tám-tam íd dhataṁ vājreṇa tám-tam íd dhataṁ.

² indrāparvatā bṛhatā ráthena vāmīr īṣa ā vahataṁ suvīraḥ: vītám havyāny adhvaréṣu devā vārdhethām gīrbhír īlayā mādantā.

³ ví yát tiró dharúṇam ácyutaṁ rájō 'tiṣṭhīpo divá ātāsu barhāṇā: svārmīlhe yáu máda indra hársyāhan vṛtrám nír apām āubho arṇavam.

⁴ jajñāná evá vy ābādhata spṛdhaḥ prāpaçyad vírō abhí pāūṣyaṁ ráṇam: ávṛçcad ádrim áva sasyádaḥ srjad ástabhnān nákaṁ svapasyáya pṛthúm.

him for heroic deeds and for battle (cf. viii. 45. 4; 66. 1); he broke open the rock, he poured out the water-floods, he fastened with skill the broad heaven." Cf. i. 62. 5; vi. 30. 3; viii. 78. 5; x. 111. 5.

2. Indra fixes the universe and maintains order in general. Thus, ii. 12. 2: "Who fastened the tottering earth, who bade the quivering mountains stand fast, who gave the air its boundaries and the heaven its supports—that, O ye nations, is Indra;" ii. 13. 10: "Thou hast fastened the six directions (i. e. the four cardinal points of the compass, and toward the zenith and nadir), five (of which) are visible (i. e. the first five: the sixth is invisible, owing to the intervention of the earth); and all this hast thou encompassed;" viii. 15. 2: "The great god whose mighty power, by reason of his strength, held fast both worlds, the mountains, the fields, the waters, the light;" x. 89. 4: "He who by his power fastened apart Heaven and Earth, as (one fastens) wheels with an axle:" cf. further v. 1 of the same hymn, and i. 62. 7; 121. 2; ii. 15. 2; 17. 5; iii. 30. 9; v. 29. 4; vi. 17. 7; viii. 14. 9. Especially important in this connection is Vāl. 3. 8: "After he, who through his power won the water-skin (i. e. the cloud) by crushing Ṣuṣṇa with blows, had fastened the sky firmly, spreading it out, then first was born the earth-dweller (i. e. man)."

The step from this stage of development in the conception of Indra's cosmogonic activity to the next, i. e. to the belief that he actually created all that he afterward restored to order and preserved, was very small and easy. Just here it is often extremely hard to decide in which group particular passages belong; hence I will quote only very plain ones.

3. Indra actually created the world: x. 54. 3: "Since thou didst create out of thine own person father and mother (i. e. Heaven and Earth) at once." In viii. 36. 4, Indra is called *janitā divo janitā pṛthivyāḥ*, 'creator of Heaven, creator of earth.'

In a perfectly analogous manner was developed the conception of his relations to the sun and the other heavenly bodies. Indra frees the sun from the veil of darkness which the thunderstorm spreads around it, and makes it revolve in freedom;

¹ śāl astabhnā viṣṭīraḥ pāṇca samdīṇaḥ pāri paró abhavaḥ śāsy ukthyāḥ.

² yasya dvibārhaso bṛhāt sāho dādhāra ródasī: girīnṛ ājraṇ apāḥ svār vṛṣatvanā.

³ yó ákṣeṇeva cakríyā cācībhīr víśvak tastāmbha pṛthivīm utá dyām.

⁴ prá yó nanakṣé abhy ójasā krívim vadhāiḥ ṣuṣṇam nighoṣāyan: yadéd ástambhit pratháyann amúm dívam ád ij janīṣṭa pāṛthivaḥ.

⁵ yán mātāraṃ ca pitāraṃ ca sākám ájanayathās tanvāḥ svāyāḥ.

he directs its course in general, and guides its daily journey about the earth; finally he created it to begin with.

1. Indra frees the obscured sun, and the other celestial lights as well: v. 40. 6:¹ "When thou, O Indra, hadst brought to naught the enchantments of Svarbhānu, which were going on in the sky, then did Atri, by the fourth prayer,² again recover the sun, which was enveloped in impious darkness;" i. 51. 4:³ "When thou, O Indra, hadst by thy might slain the dragon Vṛtra, thou didst make the sun climb the sky, that it might become visible." Cf. iv. 30. 6; vi. 17. 5; ii. 13. 5; also several of the passages cited in the section treating of Vṛtra; and vi. 72. 1, addressed to Indra and Soma (p. 164).

2. Indra regulates in general the courses of the sun and the other celestial bodies: iv. 16. 4:⁴ "When the sun became visible, beautiful to behold with its rays, when they (the rays) streamed out a great light in the early morning;"⁵ then did the hero in his graciousness turn the dim confused gloom into sight for the heroes" (i. e. made it possible for men to see); iii. 30. 13:⁶ "At the departure of night men see with joy the great many-colored appearance of the brightening dawn; when she (the dawn) approaches in glory, all know that Indra's many works are well done." Cf. vi. 30. 2; iii. 30. 12:⁷ "The sun mistakes not the appointed courses which from day to day are marked out for him by the driver of sorrel steeds; when he has run through his journey, he halts with his horses; and that is his (i. e. Indra's) doing;" v. 31. 11:⁸ "He brought forward again the wagon of the sun, which in the darkness had run backward" (i. e. he made the sun, which during the night had returned from west to east, rise again in the east); i. 102. 2:⁹ "Sun and moon go by for us in turn, O Indra, that we may

¹ svārbhānor ādha yād indra māyā avó divó vārtamānā avāhan: gū-
lham sūryam tāmasāpavratena turīyeṇa brāhmaṇāvindad ātriḥ.

² Perhaps: not until the fourth prayer had been said; i. e. after long be-
seeching.

³ vṛtrām yād indra śavasāvadhir āhim ād it sūryam divy ārohayo drṣṇe.

⁴ svār yād védi sudṛṣṭikam arkāir māhi jyóti rurucur yād dha vástoḥ:
andhā tāmaṁsi dūdhitā vicākṣe nṛbhyaḥ cakāra nṛtamo abhiṣṭāu.

⁵ I follow Grassmann's rendering; the lack of accent on *rurucus* is, however,
then irregular.

⁶ didṛkṣanta uśāso yāmann aktór vivásvatyā māhi citrām ānikam:
vīcve jānanti mahinā yād āgād indrasya kārma sūkrta puruṇi.

⁷ dīṣaḥ sūryo ná mināti prādiṣṭā divé-dive háryaḥvaprasūtāḥ: sá yād
ānaḥ ādhvana ād id ācvair vimócanam kṛṇute tát tv āsya.

⁸ sūraḥ cid rátham páritakmyāyām pūrvam karad úparam jūjuvānsam.

⁹ asmé sūryācandramāsābhicākṣe ṣṛaddhé kām indra carato vitaturām.

see, and may put our trust in thee;" x. 138. 6 :¹ "Thou hast determined the rules for the moons in the sky; the father (Heaven) bears a disk marked off by thee." Cf. also i. 121. 13; iv. 28. 2; vi. 72. 2; x. 171. 4.

Possibly the Pedu-myth belongs in this connection. Pedu receives from the Aṇvins a white horse, which in i. 118. 9 is called *indrajūta*, 'driven on by Indra.' If Pedu be really the sun, as Myriantheus maintains (*Aṇvins*, p. 102 ff.), this is then a further indication of Indra's labors as a director of the sun's course.

3. Indra actually created the sun and the heavenly lights: viii. 12. 30 :² "When thou didst place in the sky the sun, a great light, then," etc.; 87. 2 :³ "Thou, O Indra, art almighty, thou madest the sun to shine; thou art all-active, all-divine, thou art great;" ii. 12. 7 : "Who created the sun and the dawn." Cf. iii. 31. 15; 32. 8; vi. 17. 5; 30. 5; 39. 3, 4.

The process by which Indra is made the creator of plants, trees, etc., is much shorter; for vegetable growths of all sorts depend for their sustenance upon the bestower of water and light. Thus, ii. 13. 6 :⁴ "Thou, who givest nourishment and riches, who didst milk from the moist (rain and dew) the dry and sweet" (i. e. plants, particularly the Soma): v. 7 :⁵ "Thou who didst scatter over the fields the blossoms and fruits according to the law (of nature?), who didst also distribute the brooks;" iii. 34. 10 :⁶ "Indra bestowed plants and days, bestowed trees and the air." Cf. x. 138. 2.

In correspondence with all these various ideas, we find in the Veda many passages which actually call Indra creator and director of the entire universe. Some of these I quote here, while others I reserve for the section treating of Indra's greatness, in Part IV. In ii. 30. 1⁷ we find Indra called "The divine ruler who established order." Further, x. 54. 5 :⁸ "Thou art, O Indra, the arranger and the giver;" iv. 30. 22 : "Thou who didst fatally wound Vṛtra, thou who directest the

¹ *māsām vidhānam adadhā ādhi dyāvi tvāyā vibhinnaṃ bharati pradhīm pitā.*

² *yadā sūryam amūṃ divi cūkrām jyōtir ādhārayaḥ: ād it etc.*

³ *tvām indrabhibhūr asi tvām sūryam arocayaḥ: viçvākarmā viçvā-devo mahān asi.*

⁴ *yō bhōjanam ca dāyase ca vārdhanam ādrād ā cūṣkam mādhumad dudōhitha.*

⁵ *yāḥ puṣpīṇi ca prasvāḥ ca dhārmanādhi dāne vy āvānir ādhārayaḥ.*

⁶ *indra śasadhīr asanod āhāni vānaspātīr asanod antārikṣam.*

⁷ *ṛtām devāḥ kṛtvānt savitā.*

⁸ *tvām ājñātā tvām indrāsi dātā.*

whole world, thou art the shepherd of all ;" i. 52. 14 :¹ "Thou whose greatness not Heaven and Earth, whose ends not the streams of the atmosphere reached, when thou in thy intoxication didst battle with the rain-hinderer—thou alone didst create all other things in turn ;" viii. 85. 6 :² "Let us praise (Indra), who created all these creatures, which are under him."

Conceptions of a deity could hardly be more exalted. Such hyperbolic thoughts as these led earlier scholars to consider Indra as originally the supreme god of the Vedic pantheon. I trust the foregoing may have shown the erroneousness of this view.

Indra's Benevolence, and his relations with his Worshipers.—The consideration of the different fields in which Indra displays his potent energy will have made unnecessary a detailed explanation of the prayers addressed to him. It is evident that the god of the thunderstorm, who conquers the stealers of rain and light, the mightiest of all warriors, is invoked that he may grant water and light, may banish all demons, and extend protection in the struggle with aliens and opponents of Aryan blood. But from the conception of the heroic deeds which he performs, of his bounteousness in bestowing rain, light, and active assistance upon his devotees, arose the idea that he granted wealth and prosperity in all their varieties ; and in this sense many prayers are directed to him.

By "wealth" the Indian of Vedic times understood before all else abundance of cattle for his bodily sustenance, and of children—i. e. a large family which should be able to defend itself against hostile aggression—and a safe estate which would easily support its owners. It is but a very natural consequence of the desire for children which prompts the poet in his naïveté to ask for women. A few verses will suffice for illustration of these points. Thus, iv. 32. 17 : "We beseech Indra for a thousand yoke of horses, for a thousand measures of Soma." 18. "We shake down from thee a hundred thousand cows ; may thy gifts come unto us." 19. "Ten jars of gold have we received from thee ; thou art a rich giver, O slayer of Vṛtra." 20. "Thou abundant giver, give an abundance ; bring hither for us not a little, but much ; certainly thou wilt give abundance, O Indra." 21. "For thou art everywhere known as an abundant giver, O hero, Vṛtra-slayer ; let us share in thy gifts."

Malthusian doctrines had not begun to be promulgated in Vedic times : vi. 18. 6 : "In the acquisition of children and

¹ ná yásya dyāvāprthivī ánu vyáco ná síndhavo rájaso ántam ānaçúḥ :
nótá svávr̥ṣṭim máde asya yúdhyaता éko anyác cakṛṣe víçvam ānuṣák.

² tám u ṣṭavāma yá imā jajāna víçvā jātāny ávarāny asmāt.

grand-children one must invoke the thunderer;" 19. 7:¹ "When thou, O Indra, hast a right vigorous drunkenness, that gives victory in battle, bring it hither, that we may by its means consider ourselves victorious in our struggles for children and grand-children;" iv. 17. 6: "When wishing women, we draw from the woman-giver, as from a well with a pitcher."

Verse 13 of the same hymn exhibits Indra as the deity who renders assistance to men in the search for dwelling-places and in their settlements.

The value of cattle for an Indian family in Vedic times can hardly be overestimated. Cows furnished the milk upon which the family mainly subsisted, and which was indispensable in the preparation of butter and suet, both of which played an important part in the sacrifice. Cattle, moreover, served as a medium of exchange, for which reason we find such frequent mention of the price of "a hundred" or "a thousand cows" (in iv. 24. 10 a priest offers to lend his image of Indra for ten cows). For instance, i. 33. 1:² "Will not the invulnerable one grant us riches and cattle, our highest desire?" (*rāyo* and *gā-vām* are properly objective genitives after *ketam*). Hence it was a particularly great and noble deed when Indra put into the cows, which the poet thought of as "raw," the nourishing milk, which the poet in his childish simplicity imagined already "cooked," since it was fit to be used as food without previous preparation. So, e. g. i. 62. 9:³ "Thou didst place in the raw cows, the black and the red ones, the white cooked milk;" iii. 30. 14; 39. 6; viii. 78. 7; *et saepp*. (Cf. Aufrecht, *Introd.* to *Rig-Veda*, 2nd ed., p. xvii.) How much this redounded to Indra's credit may be seen from the fact that even Tvaṣṭar, the skilled artificer of the gods, could not perform this feat, as Indra says in his own praise, x. 49. 10. Likewise only Indra is able to coax milk from the bewitched barren cattle (iv. 19. 7).

The manner in which the requests are preferred is of quite as much interest as the requests themselves. In the following chapter, where we shall have to notice the Vedic descriptions of Indra's personal character, we shall find the humanizing of his nature, and so to speak the popularization of his person, carried to an extent unparalleled in the accounts of any other Vedic deity whatever. The poet talks with Indra as a man with a man; often too as a poor wretch with a rich and powerful lord; and from such hymns speaks forth often a crouching pusillanimous spirit, and the fear of his violence, rather than

¹ *yás te mádaḥ pṛtanāṣāḥ āmṛdhra índra tám na ā bhara ṣūcuvānsam : yéna tokásya tánayasya sātāu maṁśīmáhi jigivānsas tvótāh.*

² *anāmṛṇāḥ kuvíd ād asya rāyó gāvāḥ kētam páram āvārjate naḥ.*

³ *āmāsu cid dadhiṣe pakvám antāḥ páyaḥ kṛṇṇāsu rúcad róhiṣiṣu.*

reverential awe for his magnificent and sublime nature. Often such prayers degenerate into whining entreaties. Yet other poets greet the god with a hail-fellow-well-met! and in such cases no too great respect is paid to Indra's divinity; while often, again, the coarsest, broadest popular humor breaks through. Compare, for example, the already quoted verse x. 38. 5, on p. 181. Especially when the subject is a Soma-drinking-bout do we find Indra described as a very human character. But through all the hymns runs an unswerving devotion and fidelity toward the national deity, a firm belief in his existence, in spite of all godless blasphemers, and a touching reliance upon his goodness. Muir, *S. T.*, v. 103 ff., has collected a large number of passages which throw abundant light upon these points. I follow his arrangement.

Men must not doubt Indra's existence (ii. 12. 5; vi. 18. 3; viii. 89. 3, 4), but cherish a firm belief in him (i. 102. 2; 108. 6; vi. 28. 5; ix. 113. 2); for he alone is an everpresent helper (i. 84. 19; vii. 23. 5), a liberator and an advocate (viii. 85. 20), a wall of defense, a castle (viii. 69. 7). His friend never meets with disaster (x. 152. 1), for he is helper of the upright (viii. 69. 3). He is an old friend of the poets (vi. 18. 5; 21. 5, 8), even a brother (iii. 53. 5), or a father, and that too the best of all fathers (iv. 17. 17); the bard clasps him as a son clasps his father (iii. 53. 2), or as women embrace their husbands (i. 62. 11; 186. 7; x. 43. 1). But often the poet becomes impatient, and then he addresses the god with words which are none too respectful, as for example in iv. 32, and iv. 21. 9: "I would do better than thou, were I only Indra," says the author of vii. 32; "I would bestow upon my worshippers cows and other property every day." "Be not like a lazy priest, thou lord of possessions"—thus in viii. 81. 30. Indra must not waste any time in the dwellings of other worshippers (ii. 18. 3; iii. 25. 5; x. 38. 5), but spring over the barriers with which they attempt to hold him in captivity (iii. 45. 1).

The description of these intimate relations between the mighty and generous deity and his worshippers in general will receive greater completeness from a few examples, celebrated particularly often in the Veda, of his care for certain eminent chiefs among his devotees.

Kutsa, of whom mention has already been made, seems to have held the highest place among Indra's favorites. The god condescends to take him upon his own chariot, and kills for him the demon *Çuṣṇa*. He even arrests the progress of the sun through the sky, that the night may not interrupt the battle in which Kutsa is engaged before he shall prove victorious. Thus namely is to be explained the fact that Indra takes away a wheel from the sun's chariot for Kutsa's benefit:

v. 29. 10:¹ "One wheel of the sun didst thou pull off for Kutsa; the other thou didst leave in place, that it (the sun) might yet advance." Compare iv. 30. 4 in Geldner and Kaegi's translation, and their comments.

Turvaṣa and Yadu were two non-Aryans (viii. 10. 5), who could not swim (*asnātr*, ii. 15. 5; iv. 30. 17), and who received assistance from Indra while crossing a river on an expedition into a strange country: vi. 45. 1:² "The young Indra who with faithful guidance brought hither Turvaṣa and Yadu out of the distant land, is our friend;" v. 31. 8:³ "Thou didst stay the deep-flowing waters near the shore for Turvaṣa and Yadu."

It was perhaps on the same occasion that Indra showed a similar favor to Turvīti and Vayya, for they are named with Turvaṣa and Yadu in i. 54. 6, as recipients of his kindness; and we read in ii. 13. 12:⁴ "For Turvīti and Vayya didst thou stay the current of the flowing waters, that they might cross."

Sudās, the oft-mentioned king of the Trtsus, was a devoted worshipper of Indra, who manifested his graciousness in the assistance and preservation of Sudās in the latter's struggle against the allied power of ten hostile princes. Cf. vii. 19. 3; 20. 2; 32. 10, 11; and the entire hymn vii. 83, which makes Indra and Varuṇa to have been Sudās's helpers. The sacerdotal family of the Vasiṣṭhas stood in high favor at Sudās's court, and not the least part of the credit for his victory is said to have been due to their prayers (cf. vii. 33. 1 ff.). The details are described with an elaboration unusual in the Veda, yet they are sometimes far from clear (vii. 18). But this much is certain, that the whole episode of Sudās rests upon a historical basis, and points to the struggles of an ambitious and war-like dynasty.

Mudgala and his spouse Mudgalānī, who stood under Indra's protection, entered into battle riding upon a chariot drawn by a bull and a stallion. Indra imparted strength to the bull, who proceeded with all deliberation *in medias res*; and Mudgala won the fight (x. 102).

Not only in war, but in peace as well, do we find Indra playing an active and helping part in the affairs of mankind. He provided a young wife for the aged Kaksivant: i. 51. 13: "Upon the tottering old man Kaksivant, because he pressed Soma, thou didst bestow the young Vṛcayā." He rejuvenates

¹ *prānyāc cakrām avṛhaḥ sūryasya kṛtsāyānyād vārivo yātave 'kaḥ.*

² *yā ānayat parāvataḥ sūnīti turvāṣaṁ yādum: indraḥ sā no yūvā sākha.*

³ *tvām apō yādave turvāṣāyāramayaḥ sudūghaḥ pārā indra.*

⁴ *āramayaḥ sārāpasas tārāya kām turvītaye ca vāyīyā ca srutīm.*

old maids : iv. 19. 7.¹ "He made the unwedded maidens, who observed the rites, to be juicy like spouting flowing springs." His arm helped the blind and the lame (iv. 30. 19 ; ii. 13. 12 ; 15. 7 ; iv. 19. 9). He rescues from certain death the child of the maiden, which its mother in shame had made away with—or, according to one version, had thrown upon an ant-bill : ii. 15. 7.² "He knows the girls' hiding-place (i. e. where they secrete their illegitimate children) ; coming to light, the child that was exposed came forth." cf. 13. 12 : iv. 30. 16 ; and 19. 9 : "Thou master of sorrel steeds didst draw forth from the place of concealment the maiden's child, which the ants were gnawing." This anecdote reminds one of the stories told of Indra's own childhood, as in iv. 18. Whether or no such current fables concerning Indra gave rise to the view that he was an especial protector of exposed children is not likely to be proved.

Indra and Pūṣan.—It seems strange at first sight to discover by the side of the mighty war-god, whose whole energy is so often devoted to the annihilation of his enemies and of the Soma-offerings, a deity of so contrasted a nature as is Pūṣan. That the Vedic poets fully realized the strangeness of the combination is plainly apparent from their humorous descriptions of Pūṣan. We read e. g. in vi. 57. 2.³ "The one seats himself in order to drink the pressed juice from the goblet ; the other demands porridge ;" 3.⁴ "Two goats draw the one, two compact (strong) sorrel steeds the other ; with these two (gods) together one defeats his enemies."

Yet there must have been points of agreement between the natures of both gods, since the unions of deities which we find in the Veda are not, except in general invocations, by any means arbitrary. Pūṣan, as is evident from the hymns referring to him, was a personification of the fructifying sun and its beneficent influence, indicated also by the epithet *āghrñi*, 'glowing,' applied to him iii. 62. 7 *et saepp.*, and the allusions to his sister Sūryā vi. 55. 4, 5 ; 58. 4 ; and from the stories of his eating porridge (which started the fable of his "rotten teeth," *karuḍatin*, iv. 30. 4), and of his driving behind goats and carrying a goad (*aṣṭrā*, vi. 58. 2), we may reasonably conclude that he was originally a deity of the shepherds. Above all, however, he provides for fruitfulness of flocks and herds,

¹ *prāgrūvo nabhanvò ná vākvā dhvasrā apinvad yuvatīr ṛtajñāḥ.*

² *sá vidvān apagohām kanīnām āvīr bhāvann úd atīṣṭhat parāvīk.*

³ *sómam anyā úpāsadat pātave camvòḥ sutām : karambhām anyā ichati.*

⁴ If *camū* signifies a drinking-vessel : see Haug, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1875, p. 592.

⁵ *ājā anyāsya vāhnayo hārī anyāsya sambhṛtā : tābhyām vṛtrāpi jighnate.*

upon which Grassmann (*Wbch.*, s. v. *Pūṣan*) well remarks : "The prosperity which he bestows is not (as in the case of Indra, Parjanya, the Maruts, etc.) dependent upon the rain, but upon the light, particularly the sunlight." He is protector of cattle, of mankind, and of all beings. In x. 17. 3 he is called *anastapaçur bhuvanasya gopāh*, 'The shepherd of the world, whose flock receives no hurt.'

Pūṣan's junction with Indra, then, rests upon a double basis. As givers of prosperity in general they are praised in the following verses: ii. 40. 2:¹ "Indra, together with Soma and Pūṣan, these two, created in the raw cows the cooked milk" (see above, p. 187); iii. 57. 2:² "Skilful are the heroes, Indra and Pūṣan; the dearly-loved (waters) stream almost without ceasing from the sky; may I, O ye good ones (plur.), receive this favor, that all gods may delight themselves on earth" (*bhūmyām* to be supplied for *asyām*?). The following passage from a hymn addressed to various rural deities exhibits plainly their activity in sending prosperity to their worshippers: iv. 57. 7:³ "May Indra sink the furrow, Pūṣan give it its direction; may it produce bounteously for us throughout each future year."

Upon the other of the two principal sides of Pūṣan's nature, which shows him as a protector in all needs (i. 42; vi. 53, 54), seems to rest his union with Indra in the following passages: vi. 56. 2:⁴ "Indra, the captain of the army, the best chariot-guider, defeats the enemies, in the company of his ally (Pūṣan)" (cf. pāda *c* of vi. 57. 3, quoted above). And similarly, Pūṣan's character as a protector brought him into Indra's company in the fight with the demons: vi. 57. 4:⁵ "When Indra, best of heroes, took away with him the great dispersing waters, there was Pūṣan in his company." Geldner conjectures *vṛtaḥ*, 'imprisoned,' for *ritāḥ*.

Pūṣan and Viṣṇu act as encouragers of Indra during the Vṛtra-battle. Thus, vi. 17. 11:⁶ "For thee, whom all the Maruts with one accord cheered on, (Agni) roasted a hundred

¹ ābhyām indraḥ pakvām āmāsv antāḥ somāpūṣābhyām janad usrīyāsu.

² indraḥ sū pūṣā vṛṣaṇā suhastā divó ná prītāḥ ṇaṇayām duduhre: víçve yád asyām raṇáyanta devāḥ prá vó 'tra vasavaḥ sumnām aṇyām.

³ indraḥ sītām ní gṛhṇātu tām pūṣānu yachatu: sã naḥ páyasvatī duhām úttarām-uttarām sámām.

⁴ utá ghā sá rathítamaḥ sákhyā sátpatir yujá: indro vṛtrāṇi jighnate.

⁵ yád indro ányad ríto mahír apó vṛṣantamaḥ: táttra pūṣābhavat sácā.

⁶ vārdhān yām víçve marútaḥ sajóṣāḥ pácac chatām mahisāñ indra túbhyam: pūṣā víṣṇus trīṇi sárāñsi dhāvan vṛtrahāṇam madirām aṇṇúm asmāi.

bulls, O Indra; Pūṣan and Viṣṇu caused to flow for thee three ponds full of enemy-slaying, intoxicating Soma" (?).

Indra and the Aṣvins.—The number of passages in the Rig-Veda which bring the Aṣvins into direct connection with Indra is very small. I append all such that I have found.

i. 116. 21:¹ "On one and the same morning, O Aṣvins, ye did help Vāca, to his great joy, so that he won thousand-fold booty; united with Indra, O ye heroes, ye did both drive off the hostile spectre from Prthuṣravas." In i. 182. 2 the Aṣvins are called *indrataṃā*. See above, p. 124. In viii. 9. 12 and 35. 1, they are invited along with Indra and the other gods to the sacrifice; and the compound *indrānāsatyā* (voc.) occurs in 26. 8. Thus, x. 73. 4:² "Together with these come in haste to the sacrifice, bring the Nāsatyā (Aṣvins) hither to an alliance; in thy treasure-house, O Indra, thou keepest many (treasures); the Aṣvins brought gifts unto thee, O hero;" 131. 4:³ "Ye Aṣvins, lords of the rapid flight, after ye had drunk the well-intoxicating Soma, did help Indra in his deeds (i. e. the battle) against the demon Namuci;" 5:⁴ "As parents help a son, so did both Aṣvins with prudence and skill help thee, O Indra."

The Aṣvins are also found in Indra's company at the creation of Pedu's horse. See above, p. 185.

We see from these verses that the union between Indra and the Aṣvins is a very loose one. I am therefore inclined to seek the origin of their association in a mere coincidence of certain later developed phases of their character. Starting from different observations of natural phenomena, the conceptions of their natures run parallel for a time in the course of their development. We have learned that Indra was originally a god of the thunderstorm, who overcame the rain-stealing demons; and Myriantheus has proved conclusively that the Aṣvins were above all else gods who recovered and bestowed light. And whereas the similarity of these conceptions in their primitive form is complete, so we find it undiminished in the course of their development from their original nuclei.

¹ *ékasyā vāstor āvataṃ rāṇāya vācam aṣvinā sanāye sahasrā: nīr aha-
taṃ duchúnā indravantā prthuṣravāso vṛṣaṇāv ārātiḥ.*

² *samanā tūrṇir ūpa yāsi yajñām ā nāsatyā sakhyāya vakṣi: vasāvyām
indra dhārayaḥ sahasrāṣvinā cūra dadatur maghāni.*

³ *yuvām surāmaṃ aṣvinā nāmucāv āsuré sácā: vipipānā cūbhas pati
indram kārmasv āvataṃ.*

⁴ Myriantheus: "In the sacrificial ceremonies against the evil spirit Namuci"(!). The translation given here is but an attempt. Grassmann conjectures *vipapānā*. See in Appendix, s. v. *Namuci*.

⁵ *putrām iva pitārāv aṣvinobhéndrāvāthuh kāvyaīr daṇsānābhīḥ.*

Like Indra, the Aṣvins are besought to destroy all demons; as Indra's help is then implored against non-Aryan enemies, so we find the Aṣvins entreated for the same favor; Indra's efforts, like those of the Aṣvins, are directed toward the restoration of the natural order of things, which suffers daily interruption. And just at this point the conceptions of the two war-gods on the one hand, and of the one war-god on the other, overlap each other, so that we find the Aṣvins praised as recoverers of rain, and Indra celebrated as restorer of light—a complete exchange of their original functions. A step further, and we discover the Aṣvins and Indra alike as gods of prosperity and fruitfulness in general; hence, as also from the intimate relations between them and their worshippers, they become benevolent and healing deities—a trait of character much more elaborately amplified in the case of the Aṣvins than in that of Indra.

It is somewhat curious that, in spite of these many points of contact between Aṣvin-myths and Indra-myths, so few passages occur in which they are mentioned together; and it is also remarkable that of any rivalry between the Thunderer and the Horsemen there are discoverable no indications whatever.

IV. Descriptions of Indra's Person.

In the three previous Parts I have endeavored to determine Indra's original position in the Vedic pantheon, to illustrate, and, where possible, to harmonize the fables of his origin, and to define and describe not only his activity in the field of natural phenomena, but also his concern with the most various circumstances of human life. In the fourth and last Part I shall attempt to reproduce that picture of Indra's person which Indian fancy painted for itself.

In the case of no other Vedic divinity do we find so pronounced an anthropomorphism, so plastic a figure, as in that of Indra—a circumstance readily explainable from his position as war-god and national favorite of the Indian people. The poets never weary of describing his greatness, his huge size, his impetuous vigor, his craftiness and shrewdness, the riches at his disposal and his generosity in distributing them, the mighty horses and the strong chariot with which he travels, the fearful unerring weapons which he carries. And so it happens that the Indra-hymns afford us not only a remarkably detailed portraiture of this divinity, as it was developed in the Indian mind, but also not less faithful indications of Indian character and life, from which many particulars were unconsciously transferred to the likeness of Indra.

Indra is lord of might (i. 11. 2), the first among highest ones

(viii. 50. 2), the mightiest of the gods, who concentrated in him all their manly vigor, power, and wisdom (i. 80. 15), and are far from being his equals (vi. 21. 10; vii. 21. 7). Neither youth nor grown man attains an equal greatness with him, for he filled the universe with his person, and crowded out the lights of heaven (i. 81. 5); neither men nor gods, nor the heavenly waters, ever reached the limit of his might (i. 100. 15; 54. 1; ii. 16. 3; vi. 29. 5), for he is immeasurable (i. 102. 7; iv. 16. 5). He takes the great heavens upon his head (ii. 17. 2), even the remotest regions of ether are for him not distant (iii. 30. 2). Earth cannot confine him (i. 55. 1; iii. 36. 4); Heaven and Earth together do not suffice for his girdle (i. 73. 6); he grows beyond them when intoxicated with Soma (i. 100. 14; iii. 36. 6; vi. 21. 2; viii. 6. 15; 12. 24; 77. 5; 87. 5; 89. 4); nay, he is even greater than Heaven, Earth, and Atmosphere combined (i. 10. 8; iii. 46. 3). The half of him alone is more than both worlds together (vi. 30. 1); he covers the earth with one thigh (iii. 32. 11). Of his might one part is on earth, the other in the sky; it is concentrated in the midst, like the light (? i. 103. 1). "Were the earth ten times as great, and though men live for ever, yet thy greatness would still be celebrated day after day" (i. 52. 11). Both worlds and the mountains tremble at his breath (ii. 12. 1—he is the thunderstorm!), even the god-like tree bends before him; everything upon earth is shaken, both worlds bow before him like an obedient woman. He is king of the heavenly race and of all nations upon earth (i. 100. 1; iii. 31. 8; 46. 2; vi. 22. 9; 36. 4; vii. 27. 3; viii. 37. 3; 84. 3), the lord of flowing and of standing water, and of Soma (vi. 44. 21; viii. 53. 3), and he knows them all thoroughly (viii. 46. 12). Even the savage wolf abides by his decrees (viii. 55. 8), for his will determines all things (50. 4). He holds the tribes of men in his hand (vi. 31. 1); both boundless worlds are to him but a handful when he grasps them (iii. 30. 5). The smallest deed of such a divinity is at once bruited abroad throughout the whole world (viii. 45. 32). Unto him the high mountains are plains, he finds a ford in the deepest water (vi. 24. 8). He rages and roars when going on his expeditions, loudly shouting (ii. 20. 3: cf. the epithet *purūravas* in x. 95. 7, which, as already remarked above, p. 129, is doubtless to be applied to Indra); snorting and fuming, raising the dust to the sky, he hurries through the air (iii. 51. 2; iv. 16. 5; v. 34. 5; vi. 18. 2), and dashes everything in pieces (ii. 21. 2); he is unrestrainable, irresistible (i. 84. 2, 7). After the feast he turns his course hither and thither, like a beast of prey, dreadful as a horned bull, like a raging whirlwind (iv. 32. 2; vii. 19. 1; viii. 33. 8). His path is inaccessible as the sun's (i. 100. 2), and both worlds

cannot then hold him fast (i. 10. 8). He finds no evenly-matched opponent; none cast him to earth, all are cast to earth by him (i. 33. 2; 129. 4); for he coerces all (v. 34. 6; 35. 4; vi. 17. 4; 18. 1, 2; 20. 3; 25. 5; 44. 4; vii. 20. 3), and no one who has provoked him can long endure his wrath (v. 34. 7; vii. 31. 12); he cannot be humbled. He sees and hears all things^v(viii. 67. 5), and when he roars even the deaf may hear and tremble (x. 27. 5). Not even the gods can arrest Indra^v(iv. 17. 19; 30. 3, 5); and whenever he slays a man, he fears not the vengeance of relatives (v. 34. 4). Thus invincible was he ever, thus will he ever be; no one will ever stand in his way, it matters not what he may undertake (iv. 30. 23).

Indra possesses all the treasures of the world (i. 30. 10; 174. 1; vi. 45. 8) in his treasure-house (viii. 1. 22); he rules over the abodes of men and the stalls of cattle (iv. 20. 8); all paths to riches unite in him, as streams in the ocean (vi. 19. 5). All herds round about are his, and he watches them with the eye of the sun (vii. 98. 6). He is a flowing stream of possessions (viii. 32. 13), a spring of gold (50. 6), a depository of riches, as vast as four oceans (x. 47. 2). From this he makes generous presents to men; neither god nor man, nor rocks nor fortresses, can restrain his generosity (viii. 14. 4; 70. 3; 77. 3). He is the most generous of all givers, he gives without hesitation from full hands (i. 30. 1; iv. 31. 7). His assistance is everlasting. He keeps not back the flocks, when he has heard the song of praise; he is a bull for him that wishes bulls, a horse for the seeker after horses (vi. 24. 1; 45. 23, 26); he never refuses (vii. 27. 4), but assists in obtaining still greater riches (viii. 16. 10). Even a hundred envious meddlers can restrain his gifts as little as they can frustrate his plans (iv. 31. 9). "We cannot grasp thy whole greatness, O Indra," says the author of vi. 27, "nor thy generosity, O generous one, nor all thy ever new gifts; no one has fathomed thy power." The magnitude of his bounty is not to be comprehended; for his gifts, like the light, spread abroad over the whole earth (viii. 24. 21); there exists no one who can say: "He has not given;" but it is said: "Indra alone is the active dispenser of gifts, his many acts of mercy follow one another swiftly" (vii. 26. 4), they spring up side by side like shoots of trees (vi. 24. 3).

The god's youth and vigor are as unfailing as his gifts to mortals. He grows not old, nor is he subject to death (iii. 32. 7; vi. 19. 2); he makes others grow old, while he himself remains eternally young (ii. 16. 1); neither months nor years consume him, days do not waste him away (iii. 46. 1; vi. 24. 7; x. 48. 5). When the mighty prince says to himself: "I shall not die," then even this thought is realized (viii. 82. 5). In x.

86. 11 we read: "Among all women, Indrāṇī (Indra's wife) is most happy, for her husband shall never die of old age."

And Indra is also wise and prudent (i. 61. 14 ; 62. 12). In his belly he carries Soma, in his limbs wondrous power, in his hand the thunderbolt, and in his head wisdom (ii. 16. 2 ; viii. 85. 3). He is called most sagacious of the wise (x. 112. 9), and his wisdom is unapproachable (ii. 21. 4). He is an enchanter, understands all stratagems (vi. 22. 1 ; 44. 14), yet he is faithful and not treacherous (viii. 51. 12); he is considered sinless (i. 129. 5). Among the Angirases he is the best Angiras, among heroes a hero, among friends a friend; he rejoices with them that rejoice, the most skilled of them all in song (i. 100. 4). He has assumed the inspiration of prophets (iii. 36. 5), he is Brahman and Ṛṣi in one. He is proud (i. 62. 10), and his mind firmly bent upon its objects (i. 102. 5).

Corresponding to his bold and warlike character, Indra appears to the eye of his worshipper's imagination with gigantic body. His frame is full of vigor, mighty his neck, brawny his back; he possesses irresistible strength in his body, it rests in his limbs as water rests in hidden springs (i. 55. 8 ; iv. 17. 8 ; v. 37. 1 ; viii. 1. 23 ; 17. 8 ; 67. 7). His figure is well calculated for drinking-bouts. His belly holds whole lakes of Soma, it swells like a sea (i. 8. 7 ; 11. 1 ; 30. 3 ; 104. 9 ; iii. 36. 8); his mouth is huge, like a great body of water (vi. 41. 2). His arms are sleek, his hands thick and firm, both right and left well formed; his strength lies in them, they accomplish noble works, they win the flocks and herds (i. 80. 8 ; 102. 6 ; iv. 21. 9 ; vi. 19. 3 ; viii. 32. 10 ; 33. 5 ; 50. 18 ; 70. 1). He has a golden beard, which he shakes with satisfaction at his approach and after the draughts of Soma (ii. 11. 17 ; viii. 33. 6 ; x. 23. 1, 4), and handsome cheeks or lips, which he puffs out on such occasions (iii. 32. 1). In several hymns the word *hari*, 'golden, sorrel,' is made the subject of endless punning, so that Indra is called "gold-cheeked" (*hariçipra*), "golden-haired" (*harikeça*), "golden-bearded" (*hariçmaçāru*), "golden-formed" (*harivarpas*); similarly *hiranyaya*, 'golden,' and *hiranyabāhu*, 'golden-armed.' From his firmness and strength he is called *āyasa*, 'of metal, brazen' (i. 7. 2 ; vii. 34. 4 ; viii. 55. 3 ; x. 96. 4, 5, 8, 9, 12). His whole appearance is brilliant, wonderful, splendid, like the sun in glory (i. 53. 3 ; 173. 4 ; iii. 45. 5 ; iv. 16. 14 ; 21. 2 ; v. 37. 1). He is adorned like the dawn (i. 57. 3), he hangs the fleecy cloud about him for an ornament (iv. 22. 2). But he can also assume any form whatever at will, through his magic powers (iii. 53. 8 ; vi. 47. 18).

Two passages of the Rik seem to refer to images of Indra, of some sort or other: iv. 24. 10: "Who will offer me ten cows for this my Indra here? When he has killed his enemies,

he must bring him back to me;" viii. 1. 5: "Not even for a great price would I sell thee, O slinger, not for a hundred nor a thousand nor ten thousand (cattle), O thou thunderbolt-bearer who receivest hundreds of libations." One may well imagine what hideous objects such images must have been in Vedic times; and that the *bahulā gabhastī* and the *urvīr āpo na kākud* were most successfully portrayed.

Indra rides to battle or to the sacrifice on a golden wagon or chariot, which the Rbhus built for him. It runs easily, has a good frame and good hubs, and speeds through the air swifter than thought (i. 16. 2; 102. 3; vi. 29. 2; 37. 3; x. 44. 2). Indra urges on his steeds with a golden whip (viii. 33. 11). As a rule he drives two sorrels (ii. 15. 6 calls them mares: cf. iii. 44. 3); but often this number is too small for the enthusiastic poet, who with the well-known Indian fondness for playing with numbers multiplies them without stint (ii. 18. 4, 7; iv. 46. 3; vii. 47. 18). They snort and neigh, they prance and rear during the journey, as though they were drunk like their driver (i. 81. 3; iii. 43. 6; i. 30. 16). Even Indra shrinks, tired and anxious, when after many vain efforts he has finally yoked them for his drive (x. 105. 3). They have golden manes (viii. 32. 29), straight backs (viii. 1. 25; 6. 42; iii. 35. 4), tails like peacocks (iii. 45. 1; viii. 1. 25), noble limbs (iii. 43. 4), are well groomed (v. 6); their eyes are bright as the sun, they themselves are like sunbeams (i. 16. 1; ii. 11. 16). They receive warm fodder (iii. 53. 3); well-fed, they fill out their girths (i. 10. 3). The god is carried by them as an eagle by his wings (viii. 34. 9); they are always ready for a journey, be it morning or evening when Indra would start on his rounds (i. 104. 1), they convey him to the sacrifice in a trice (x. 32. 2). They are yoked through the power of prayer, that the god may appear among his worshippers (ii. 18. 3; iii. 35. 4; viii. 1. 24; 45. 39; 87. 9). Indra received them from Heaven (i. 121. 8), or from the Rbhus (i. 111. 1). But he also travels with the horses of the wind (Vāyu?) or of the sun (Agni?) (i. 51. 10; 121. 12; x. 22. 5; Val. 2. 8; x. 49. 7).

Indra's usual weapon is the thunderbolt, which Tvaṣṭar made for him. This is described as golden (i. 57. 2; 85. 9; viii. 57. 3), or brazen (i. 81. 4; viii. 85. 3; x. 48. 3); easily victorious (i. 100. 13), intended to be hurled (i. 84. 11); and is called Indra's companion (*sacābhū*, i. 131. 3). It is three or four-edged (i. 121. 4; iv. 22. 2), hundred-edged (vi. 17. 10), with a hundred knots or joints (i. 80. 6), or a thousand points (v. 34. 2). Indra whets it as a bull his horns (i. 55. 1). An-

¹ mahé caná tvām adrivaḥ párá ṣulkáya deyaṁ: ná saháśrāya nāyú-tāya vajrivo ná ṣatāya ṣatāmagha.

other weapon, *çamba*, perhaps a staff or club, is mentioned in x. 42. 7. According to x. 60. 3, he carries a goad (*pavīravat*); in i. 32. 12, and x. 180. 2, a lance; and in several passages bow and arrows (viii. 45. 4; 66. 7, 11; x. 103. 2, 3). He is often called *adriyat*, 'armed with stones'—referring doubtless to rough pieces of loose rock suitable for throwing. He also has a hook, with which he secures riches for the Soma-presser (viii. 17. 10; x. 44. 9). In some passages the word *çiprā*, generally rendered 'cheek' or 'chin,' seems to mean 'helmet'; so perhaps in *hriçipra*, vi. 29. 6. Cf. the remarks on the word in Muir's Skt. Texts, v. 149. According to ix. 83. 4 (see above, p. 168), Indra was armed with a net, doubtless for the purpose of entangling his opponents, as was done by the Roman *retiarii*.

Finally, the poets ascribed to Indra a household, in which he took his ease in the society of his wife *Indrāṇī*:¹ cf. iii. 53, 4–6; vii. 18. 2; x. 99. 5. As he is about to take the field against his enemies, *Indrāṇī* calls him back to get his accustomed draught of Soma. A satirical description of his domestic life is contained in the curious and very corrupt hymn x. 86, which is instructive as a possibly not unfaithful picture of the *mores* of those times. A conjugal quarrel has broken out between Indra and his spouse, the cause of which was Indra's pet monkey *Vṛṣākapi*, who, besides making a nuisance of himself in many other ways, disturbed the people's sleep (? v. 22), and meddled with the secrets of his mistress's toilet (v. 5). *Indrāṇī* complains of Indra's lack of consideration for her, and declares her intention of killing the monkey—she who could boast of the greatest female charms (v. 6). Indra will not abandon his pet, which has shown itself useful on other occasions (vv. 12. 18). The quarrel ends with the reconciliation of the pair, and the monkey is reduced to order.

¹ *Indrāṇī*, a fem. formed from the masc. *indra*, is in the Rig-Veda hardly more than a name, without any personal characteristics; she is mentioned but five or six times. *Varuṇāṇī* is an equally rudimentary personage.

² Hardly, as Grassmann supposed, son of Indra and *Indrāṇī*.

APPENDIX.

DEMONS MENTIONED BY NAME, WITH WHOM INDRA FIGHTS.

The allusions to many of these demoniac beings are so vague that one is often in doubt to what class they belong—whether they be rain-stealers or personifications of other influences destructive to mankind.

Anarṣani: mentioned only in viii. 32. 2, without nearer description. Its etymology is obscure. If from *a* priv. and $\sqrt{\text{arc}}$ (= *riç*), it would signify 'not-harmful.'

Arṇava is not necessarily the name of a demon, as the Pet. Dict. and Grassmann assume for the three passages x. 66. 11; 67. 12; 111. 14. In the first passage the context is best suited by rendering the word 'Air-' or 'Cloud-sea;' in 67. 12, *arṇavasya* seems to belong as adjective to *arbudasya*; and 111. 4 is probably best translated thus: "Indra, praised by the Angrirases, broke the dominion (of the demons) over the mighty waves" (objective genitive).

Arbudā: i. 51. 6: "Thou didst tread down with thy foot the great Arbuda." In the same verse *Çuṣṇa* and *Çambara* are named. The adj. *arṇava*, used of Arbuda in x. 67. 12, is 'surging, waving, undulating;' i. e. Arbuda is imagined in serpentine form. Indra cuts off his head. The Pet. Dict. in both passages renders 'serpent.' This Arbudā is doubtless identical with

Arbuda, mentioned in ii. 11. 20: "When he had refreshed himself with Trita's intoxicating draught, he cast Arbuda to earth." In ii. 14. 4, Arbuda is mentioned with *Urana*. According to viii. 32. 26, he is smitten by Indra with snow or ice—*himenāvidhyad arbudam*. In v. 3 we read: "Cast down the height, the pate of the great Arbuda;" viii. 3. 19: "Thou didst drive out the cows from the mountain of Arbuda, of the treacherous Mrgaya."

Ahi, 'Serpent, Dragon' ("*Wurm*" of German mythology), designates both a demon and a mysterious being, *Ahi Budhnya*, 'the dragon of the depths.' In most cases, however, *Ahi* is the demon, identified with *Vṛtra*—cf. e. g. i. 51. 4; iv. 17. 7 ff.; vi. 72. 3; x. 113. 3; and the whole hymn i. 32—by which is signified the long outstretched cloud, or else such clouds as seem to have been rolled or coiled up. The root is *ah*, in the signification 'squeeze.' The reference is probably to snakes of the constrictor kind.

Ahīṣuva, mentioned in viii. 32. 2 together with *Sṛbinda*, *Anarṣani*, and *Pipru*. In v. 26 occur the words *āurnavābham ahīṣuvam*, which Grassmann translates "the spider-brood *Ahīṣuva*;" so also 66. 2. x. 144. 3: "Carelessly the bull among his females watches the busy falcon" (which brings the Soma to Indra; after

¹ ghṛṣuḥ çyenāya kṛtvana āsú svāsu vānsagaḥ: āva didhed ahīṣuvaḥ.

the draught of which the god will overcome Ahīcuva and deprive him of the cows). On this verse Grassmann remarks: "According to the hymn, Ahīcuva is doubtless identical with the *astā kṛcānus* ['the bow-stretching archer'] in iv. 27. 3." The translation which I have given, if correct, proves this conjecture wrong. No wonder need be felt that the demon is called *Vaṁsaga*. He is among his "cows," the clouds, and so is naturally enough styled "the bull" of the flock.

The word *āurnavābha* occurs without *ahīcuva* only in ii. 11. 18: *āurnavābham dānum*. The rendering 'spider-brood' is quite satisfactory; cf. Curtius, *Grundzüge*, No. 406 b. The spider was not unnaturally classed with animals under whose forms demons were thought to exist, since in hot countries spiders are not only very large and disgusting, but positively dangerous. Nor is it improbable that the poets saw a considerable degree of resemblance between certain cloud-formations and spiders' webs.

Açna ('greedy'), name of a demon in ii. 14. 5, and in ii. 20. 5:¹ "The mighty (Indra), stealing away the dawns by means of the sun, destroyed the old hiding-places of *Açna*;" vi. 4. 3:² "The radiant one who grows not old, who scares away (demons—*Agni* is meant), destroyed" etc. Who was this "greedy creature?" Indra destroys his retreats by making the sun rise; *Agni* does the same by his rays; so that *Açna*, although mentioned among rain-stealers in ii. 14. 5, was doubtless in the first instance a demon of darkness.

Ilībiça I find mentioned only in i. 33. 12: "Indra cast down the strongholds of *Ilībiça*." *Yāska*, Nir. vi. 19, makes the word equivalent to *ilābilaçaya* 'lying in front of the door of refreshment' (i. e. of the water). The commentator adds: "He blocks up the openings by which the refreshments, the waters, flow out, and lies in front of them. It is a name for cloud." *Yāska*'s idea may be correct; his etymology is of a sort with most of his others.

Urana, mentioned only ii. 14. 4: "*Urana*, who stretched out ninety-nine arms." The meaning for *urana*, 'ram,' given in Pet. Dict. for the later literature, would suit the clouds very well, as they often have a woolly appearance; hence also the "ninety-nine arms," referring to their fringe-like edges.

Aurnavābha. See *Ahīcuva*.

Karañja: named in i. 53. 8 along with *Parṇaya*, in x. 48 with *Parṇaya* and *Vrtra*. Both are conquered by *Indra* with *Atithigva*'s assistance, "by means of the wheel," i. e. chariots. *Atithigva* is a surname of *Dīvodāsa*, for whom *Indra* also kills *Çambara*. *Parṇaya* is plainly enough 'the winged one,' *karañja* I can only explain as derived from *ka + rañja*, 'of uncertain color,' i. e. dark, obscure. Benfey, *Or. u. Occ.* i. 413, supposes the word to be connected in some way with *kara*, 'hail.'

¹ muṣṇānn uṣāsaḥ sūryeṇa stavān āçnasya cic chiçnathat pūrvyāpi.

² ví yá inóty ajārah pāvako 'çnasya cic etc.

Kuyava. Although *kuyava* is generally to be taken as an adjective qualifying *Çuṣṇa* (which see below), yet the word sometimes appears to be an independent name, as e. g. in i. 103. 8:¹ where the order of words forbids our taking *çuṣṇam* and *kuyavam* together. To be sure, *kuyavam* might here belong with *vṛtram*, but I know no other instance of *Vṛtra*'s receiving this epithet. The verse i. 104. 3 mentions two wives of *Kuyava*: "Kuyava's wives bathe in the stream of milk (i. e. rain); let them be dashed to pieces in the cataract of *Çiphā*" (Grassmann); i. e. they revel in the possession of what rightly belongs to mankind, but by the renewed flowing of the *Çiphā* they are to be destroyed. Grassmann's explanation of *çiphā* as name of a river is doubtless correct.

[*Kuyavāc* is mentioned only in i. 174. 7. Pet. Dict. and Grassmann derive the word from *kuya* (= *ku*) + *vāc*; hence, 'slanderer.' There is no further authority for making *kuya* equivalent to *ku*; but the meaning 'slanderer' suits the context, as the hymn mentions only earthly enemies, and particularly slanderers.]

Kāulītara, see *Çambara*: iv. 30. 14.

Krivi, 'leather bag, or bottle' (ἀσινός), i. e. the rain-cloud. In ii. 17. 6 and 22. 2, and Vāl. 3. 8 it seems to be used as name of a demon.

Cumuri: generally in the company of *Dhuni* ('the roarer'). Indra put them both to sleep, and so killed them, as a favor to *Dabhīti*. In vi. 26. 6, we find *Cumuri* alone, and *Dhuni* is not alluded to at all in the hymn; in all other passages they are mentioned together.

[*Dānava*: v. 29. 4:² "Indra, bidding the swallower (i. e. him who sought to swallow him up) retire, struck down the snorting *Dānava*"—where it is indifferent whether we take *dānavam* as name or not; *çvasant* is applied to *Vṛtra* in i. 61. 10 *et saepp*. In v. 32. 1 *dānava* appears to refer to *Ahi*, i. e. *Vṛtra* (cf. the other verses); so also ii. 11. 10. It is evidently unnecessary to consider the word, formed as a patronymic from *dānu*, 'demon,' as a name.]

Dṛbhika: only ii. 14. 3. It perhaps signifies 'he who bunches clouds together.' The root *darbh* occurs, according to Pet. Dict., only in the *Brāhmaṇas*. For the form cf. *vṛdhika*, 'helper,' and Whitney, Gr., § 1186.

Dhuni, see *Cumuri*.

Namuci is explained by Pāṇini as from *na* + *muci*, i. e. 'he who does not let (the rain) free:.' cf. K. Z. viii. 80. In the following verse the relations between the *Açvins* and *Namuci* still await satisfactory explanation: x. 131. 4:³ "Ye *Açvins*, lords of the

¹ çuṣṇam pípruṁ kúyavam vṛtrám indra yadāvadhīr ví púraḥ çám-barasya.

² jígartim índro apajárgurāṇaḥ práti çvasántam áva dānavám han.

³ yuvám surámam açvinā námucāv āsuré sácā: vipipānā çubhas pati indram kármasv ávatam.

rapid flight, after ye had drunk the intoxicating draught in the company of the demon Namuci, helped Indra in his deeds." Elsewhere Namuci is always a rain-stealer. Indra strikes off his head in v. 30. 7, 8 and vi. 20. 6, or crushes it with the foam of water, v. 30. 9; viii. 14. 13. See the curious explanation of this by the commentator on V. S. x. 33, in Muir, S. T. v. 94.

Navavāstva, 'he who has a new dwelling-place.' In i. 36. 18 and vi. 20. 11 the word is plainly name of a man: in the first passage, a favorite of Agni; in the second, son of Uṣanā, a favorite of Indra. In i. 36. 18 he is also called *bṛhadratha*, 'having a great chariot;' so also in x. 49. 6, where Indra says of himself: "It was I, the slayer of Vṛtra, who hewed in pieces Navavāstva, even as I hewed Vṛtra" (*vṛtreva* = *vṛtram iva*). Hence it seems unnecessary to make *navavāstva* name of a demon.

Nārmara: only ii. 13. 8. The text has *nārmaram sahasvasum*, generally translated 'Nārmara with all his possessions.' Sāyaṇa takes *sahasvasu* as name of an Asura; *nārmara* would then be patronymic from *nrmara* ('causing death to the heroes'), which need not signify a demon.

Paḍgr̥bhī, 'who seizes by the foot:' only x. 49. 5. Savya, into whose hands Indra delivers Paḍgr̥bhī, is not mentioned elsewhere.

Parnaya. See under *Karañja*.

Pipru. The word is plainly derived from $\sqrt{\text{par}}$. If from 1. *par*, the meaning would be 'the overcomer, compeller;' if from 2. *par*, 'he who satiates himself' (i. e. with the stolen waters). For the form, cf. *si-ṣṇ-u*, *ji-gy-ū*, etc. (Whitney, Gr., § 1178 c); the accent raises difficulties. In i. 101. 2, Pipru is called *avṛata*, 'disobedient to the laws.' By the "laws" we have doubtless to understand Varuṇa's ordinance that the rain shall descend upon the earth. In iv. 16. 13 he is styled *mṛgayam śūcuvāṇsam*, 'a mighty monster,' and Indra kills him. He appears mostly in the company of Ṣuṣṇa and Čambara, and like them is possessed of castles and strongholds, by which again clouds are meant.

Piçāci: only in i. 133. 5. The whole hymn is a prayer for the banishment of demons. Grassmann's derivation, from *piça* + *ac*, is doubtless correct; Piçāci would then be the will-o'-the-wisp.

Makha appears in two passages as an enemy of the gods: ix. 101. 13:² "Drive off the greedy dog, as the Bṛḡus drove off Makha" (*hatā*, 2nd plur., addressed to the gods, or to the other priests); x. 171. 2:³ "Thou didst rend the head of the wild Makha from his body, and enter the Soma-presser's house." In the first passage Grassmann translates *makha* by 'enemy;' in the second, by 'warrior.'

Mṛga, 'wild beast,' designates in i. 80. 7 Vṛtra, who, as is

¹ ahām sā yó nāvavāstvam bṛhadratham sám vṛtréva dāsam vṛtrahārujam.

² āpa çvānam arādhāsam hatā makhām ná bhṛgavaḥ.

³ tvām makhāsya dódhataḥ çiró 'va tvacó bharaḥ: ágachaḥ somīṇo gṛhām.

apparent from the rest of the hymn, is here thought of in animal form. So also v. 29. 4; 32. 3; 34. 2; viii. 82. 14. (Pet. Dict.) So also

Mrgaya, used iv. 16. 13 of Pipru, viii. 3. 19 of Arbuda. In x. 49. 5 perhaps proper name.

Rudhikrā: only ii. 14. 5. Grassmann, 'shedder of blood,' from *rudhi* (= *rudhira*) and *kra* (from $\sqrt{\text{kir}}$): cf. *dadhikrā*. Yet here *Rudhikrā* stands among rain-stealers, and why all at once a 'blood-shedder?'

Rāuhina is mentioned in Naigh. i. 10 as equivalent to *megha*, 'cloud.' In i. 103. 2, he is killed together with the rain-stealers Ahi and Vyaṇsa; in ii. 12. 12 he is called *dyām ārohan*t, 'the stormer (assaulter) of the sky'—the Indian counterpart of the Titans. In agreement with ii. 12. 12, the root *ruh*, 'climb,' seems to underlie the word; Grassmann derives it from *rohini*, 'bay mare.'

Vaṅgr̥da: only in i. 53. 8, where Indra and R̥jigvan destroy his hundred castles. Grassmann separates *vaṅgr̥d-a*.

Varc̥in: mentioned four times—ii. 14. 6; iv. 30. 15; vi. 47. 21; vii. 99. 5—each time in connection with Çambara. He leads 100,000 men against Indra, but is killed. Grassmann assumes for the word a root *varc*, 'glisten,' and compares *varcas* and *vrc̥ivat*. Roth, in a private lecture, hinted at a connection with the later word *varcas*, 'dung, filth.'

Vala signifies originally 'cave;' and by this seems to have been signified at first the cloud-cave which concealed the stolen rain-cows, and then, by a transition to a person, the demon who had his abode therein. The first meaning is exemplified in vi. 39. 2:¹ "Indra tore open the untorn roof of the cave, he conquered the Panis by his words (alone):" cf. x. 62. 2; 138. 1; ii. 12. 3. The second we find in x. 68. 6:² "When Bṛhaspati with fiery glowing lightning-flashes split open the hiding-place of Vala who jeered at him:" cf. vi. 18. 5; viii. 14. 8. But in most cases a distinction between these two meanings is quite impossible, and there are extremely few verses in which *valu* is necessarily a proper name.

Vṛkadvaras: only in ii. 30. 4; apparently an epithet of Vṛtra. Roth and Grassmann conjecture *vṛkadhvaras*, 'as harmful as a wolf.'

Vṛṣaḥipra, 'having lips like a bull.' Spoken of in vii. 99. 4 as conquered by Indra and Viṣṇu: "O heroes, ye destroyed in battle the stratagems of the demon Vṛṣaḥipra." Still, the word might be merely an adjective.

Vyaṇsa. The word signifies literally 'with broad (or 'crooked') shoulders.' According to iv. 18. 9, he wounds Indra. He is mentioned in some half-dozen verses, together with Pipru, Çuṣṇa,

¹ rujád árugṇam ví valásya sánum pañîr vácobhir abhí yodhad ín-drah.

² yadâ valásya píyato jásum bhéd bṛhaspátir agnitápopbhir arkāiḥ.

Namuci, and others; but it is impossible to determine his character more nearly. Cf. i. 101. 2; 103. 2; ii. 14. 5; iii. 34. 3; in i. 32. 5 *vyāṇsa* may be an adjective qualifying Vṛtra.

Çandika: only in ii. 30. 8, in plur. Probably demons rather than men. Sāyaṇa refers it to the descendants of Çanḍa, who appears in V. S. as leader of the Asuras.

Çambara appears very often, and as one of the most dangerous among Indra's opponents. The word is of secondary formation, from *çamba*, which in x. 42. 7 designates a weapon used by Indra, and is explained in Naigh. and Nir. by *vajra*. If the word *çambara* as name of a demon retains its appellative force, then this is the only case known from the R. V. in which a demon carries the weapon peculiar to Indra. Still, the word *nivivīdh-vān*, used of Vyāṇsa in iv. 18. 9, seems to point to a regular weapon carried by the demons. Roth, *Zur. Lit. u. Gesch. d. Weda*, p. 116, and Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 126, suppose *çambara* to have been originally a designation of some non-Aryan tribe, which was afterward transferred to certain demons.

For Çambara the following passages are of importance: vi. 47. 21:¹ "In the abiding-place of the waters the hero slew the two higgling demons Varcin and Çambara." In ii. 12. 11 Çambara is called *parvateṣu kṣiyant*, 'dwelling on the mountains,' where 'the mountains' may be either those upon earth, or the thus imaginatively described clouds in the sky. In vii. 18. 20:² "Thou hast killed the Çambara, who thought himself a little god; thou didst hurl him down from the heights"—*çambara* plainly designates a hostile, non-Aryan tribe; cf. the other verses of the hymn, and vi. 26. 5.

The clouds are called Çambara's castles. Indra is said to have destroyed ninety-nine of them, or a hundred (ix. 61. 1, 2; ii. 14. 6); and in the latter case, ninety-nine during the day and the hundredth at evening (iv. 26. 3), as an especial favor to Divodāsa. According to ii. 12. 11, Indra found Çambara only in the fortieth year: i. e. it was long before the storm broke—the drought was of long duration. In iv. 30. 14, Çambara is called *kāṇḍitara* ('with a numerous family?').

Çuṣṇa is, after Vṛtra, Indra's most dangerous enemy. He is a demon of drought and bad harvest, and with his destruction fertility and prosperity return to the earth. Thus, v. 32. 4:³ "Him who revelled at will in these waters, the son of mist who delights to roam in the darkness, the demon's rage and Çuṣṇa himself, did Indra, the thunderer, who receives the powerful libations, destroy with the thunderbolt." The most significant of the epithets

¹ āhan dāsā vṛṣabhó vasnayántodāvraje varcīnaṃ çāmbaraṃ ca.

² dēvakaṃ cin mānyamānāṃ jaghānthāva tmānā bṛhatāḥ çāmbaram bhet.

³ tyām cid eṣāṃ svadhāyā mādantam mihó nāpātaṃ suvṛdhaṃ tamogām: vṛṣaprabharmā dānavāsya bhāmaṃ vājreṇa vajrī nī jaghāna çuṣ-ṇam.

applied to Çuṣṇa is *kuyava*, 'causing bad harvests.' (For *Kuyava* as an independent personification see above.) Again, x. 22. 14: 'That the earth, though without hand or foot, might nevertheless prosper through the help of the glorious ones, thou didst cast down Çuṣṇa upon the right hand, to the gain of the whole world:' cf. Vāl. 3. 8. Çuṣṇa is furthermore called *açuṣa* (probably with an intentional pun upon his name), 'greedy,' a word used only of him and once (i. 174. 3) of Agni; *māyin*, 'wily' (as also *Vṛtra*); *ṛṅgin*, 'horned'; *amānuṣa*, 'hostile to mankind'; and *vrandin*, 'enervating,' which of course refers to the enervating, exhausting influence of the drought upon all living things (i. 33. 12; x. 22. 7; i. 54. 5). His cloud-castles, which wander restlessly about (*carisṇu pur*), are mentioned in i. 103. 8 and viii. 1. 28. Indra is besought to destroy his whole progeny, viii. 40. 10, 11. The act of killing him was an especial favor to Kutsa Ārjuneya: i. 63. 3:² "For the joyful youth Kutsa thou didst smite Çuṣṇa with his wagon in his fort:" cf. iv. 16. 12; vi. 26. 3; 31. 3; vii. 19. 2.

The Pet. Dict. derives the word from $\sqrt{cuṣ}$ =*vas*, 'hiss,' Grassmann, from $\sqrt{cuṣ}$, 'dry up, wither,' which is found once in the Rig-Veda in composition with *prati*, and often in the Atharvan with other prepositions. For Roth's view speaks the adjective *çvasana*, 'snorting,' in i. 54. 5; yet Grassmann's derivation seems to correspond better with the general conception of this demon. Perhaps even the Indians forgot at a very early date the real derivation of the word.

Svarbhānu ('he who has the sunlight in his power'?) appears only in v. 40, as a demon who obscures the sun, but is slain by Indra for Atri.

¹ *ahastā yād apādī vārdhata kṣāḥ çacibhir vedyānām: çuṣṇam pári pradakṣiṇíd viçvāyave ní çignathaḥ.*

² *tám çuṣṇam vṛjáne prkṣá āpāú yūne kútsāya dyumáte sácāhan.*

INDEX TO PASSAGES TRANSLATED OR EXPLAINED.

R. V.	Page.	R. V.	Page.	R. V.	Page.
i. 6. 3	126	ii. 12. 2	183	iv. 24. 10	196 f.
13. 10	147	7	185	28. 1	164
17. 3	154	13	121	30. 18	181
6	154	13. 6	185	22	185
18. 4	166	7	185	32. 17-21	186
20. 2	178	10	183	22	131
33. 1	187	12	189	33. 9	177
12	200	14. 4	200	35. 7	178
51. 4	184	15. 2	122	41. 2	155
6	199	7	190	42. 1-10	156 f.
13	189	20. 5	200	4	122
52. 6	136	8	137	57. 7	191
7	175	28. 4	134		
11	194	30. 1	185	v. 2. 8	152, 172
14	186	2	130	5. 3	169
53. 10	181	3	136	29. 4	201
54. 1	121	6	164	7	171
55. 1	121	10	179	10	189
4	120	31. 1	178	30. 6	138, 161
56. 4	131	34. 10	145	31. 4	178
5	122, 182	14	143	8	189
61. 7	174	40. 2	191	11	184
62. 3	141			32. 3	136
9	187	iii. 12. 6	171	4	204
63. 3	205	9	171	10	121
80. 12	137	30. 12	184	40. 6	184
83. 4	141	13	184	51. 10	151
84. 13	138	32. 6	135		
100. 5	161	34. 4	139	vi. 4. 3	200
101. 7	161	10	185	17. 10	176
102. 2	184 f.	35. 9	169	11	191 f.
103. 3	180	47. 4	161	18. 2	121
104. 3	201	48. 4	176	6	186 f.
105. 9	144	53. 1	182	19. 7	187
108. 1	170	4	169	20. 2	173
3	170	55. 19	147	22. 10	181
109. 4	170	57. 2	191	27. 3	195
111. 1	177 f.			31. 2	121
116. 21	192	iv. 16. 4	184	37. 2	165
121. 10	139	8	141	39. 2	203
11	135	17	179	45. 1	189
122. 3	181	17. 2	125	47. 21	204
131. 5	180	4	125	56. 2	191
132. 6	182	6	187	57. 2-4	190 f.
133. 1-3	140	7	135	59. 1	130
135. 8	163	12	125	2	130, 132
155. 2	174	18. 1-5	127	60. 2	171
170. 2	161	3	176	68. 2	155
171. 6	161	8	127	3	151
187. 1	142	10-12	127	69. 2	173
188. 9	147	19. 7	190	8	174
		9	190	72. 1-4	164
ii. 11. 7, 8	136	21. 4	162		
10	164	22. 4	126	vii. 6. 1	168
19	143	7	138	18. 20	204
20	143, 199	24. 1	131	20. 5	129

R. V.	Page.	R. V.	Page.	R. V.	Page.
vii. 21. 3	135	viii. 40. 5	171	x. 49. 10	177
26. 4	195	45. 4	128	52. 5	171
28. 4	153 f.	5	128	54. 3	132, 183
32. 18	188	58. 4	130	5	185
19	188	15	129	66. 3	178
47. 2	178	59. 4	126	68. 6	203
56. 2	131	63. 10	168	73. 1	130
79. 3	168	65. 4	139	4	192
82. 2	155	66. 1	131	10	130
3	154	1-3	128	86. 11	196
5	155	5	167	89. 4	183
6	155	10	175	8	152
83. 9	155	81. 14	131	92. 8	121
84. 2	153	30	188	95. 7	129
85. 2	155	82. 5	195	101. 12	131, 149
3	154 f.	85. 3	161	111. 2	132
4	150	6	152, 186	4	199
90. 5	163	7	137	6	138
97. 9	166	15	166	113. 3	135
98. 3	150	87. 2	185	4	182
99. 3	124	91. 8	147	5	152
4	173, 203			8	138
5	173	ix. 83. 4	168	120. 1	130
104. 22	140	86. 1	143	6	142
		99. 3	165	124. 1-9	159 f.
viii. 1. 5	197	101. 13	202	131. 4	192, 201 f.
11	167			5	192
3. 19	199	x. 10. 15	147	134. 1	129
6. 28-30	126	17. 3	191	138. 6	185
7. 24	142	22. 1	153	139. 4	167
31	161	14	205	6	167
12. 6	138	28. 6	129	144. 3	199 f.
14	150	7	137	153. 1	129
16	143	32. 6	172	2	131
30	185	38. 5	181	167. 1	165
14. 14	140	45. 3	169	171. 2	202
15. 2	183	46. 3	142 f.		
32. 3	199	48. 2	143	Väl. 3. 8	183
36. 4	183	11	178	4. 3	153, 173
38. 1	169	49. 6	202		

ERRATA.

- p. 138, l. 42: *for* 130. 13 *read* 130. 3.
 151, 33-4: *for* viii. 82. 6 *read* vii. 82. 6.
 199, 10: *for* 111. 14 *read* 111. 4.

SYNOPSIS OF THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.

	Page
I. Introduction ; Indra's Significance in Nature, - - -	117
II. Indra's Origin, - - - - -	124
Physical Conceptions, - - - - -	125
Anthropomorphic Conceptions, - - - - -	127
Vague Statements concerning Indra's Parents, - - -	129
Conceptions of Indra's Origin which rest upon Speculation,	130
III. Fields of Indra's Activity, and his Relations to other Divinities and	
to his Worshipers, - - - - -	133
Battles with Superhuman Enemies, particularly with Demons who	
steal Water and Light, - - - - -	133
Saramā, the Angirases, and the Paṇis, - - - - -	140
Indra and Trita, Viçvarūpa, - - - - -	142
Indra's Relations with the Adityas, and the development of the	
Indra-mythus, - - - - -	148
Indra and the Maruts, - - - - -	160
Indra and Vāyu, - - - - -	162
Indra and Soma, - - - - -	163
Indra and Bṛhaspati (Brahmaṇaspati), - - - - -	165
Indra and Gandharva, - - - - -	166
Indra and Agni, - - - - -	168
Indra and Viṣṇu, - - - - -	172
Indra and Tvāṣṭar, - - - - -	175
Indra and the Ṛbhus, - - - - -	177
Indra as Chief of the Vasus, - - - - -	178
Indra's Battles with Human Enemies, - - - - -	179
Indra and Parvata, - - - - -	181
Indra's Cosmogonic Labors, - - - - -	182
Indra's Benevolence, and his Relations with his Worshipers, -	186
Indra and Pūṣan, - - - - -	190
Indra and the Aṇvins, - - - - -	192
IV. Descriptions of Indra's Person, - - - - -	193
APPENDIX: Demons mentioned by name, with whom Indra fights, -	199
INDEX to Passages translated or explained, - - - - -	206